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# Journal of Applied Sociology

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## A NEW DEPARTURE

ALICE M. FESLER.

*President, Southern California Sociological Society*

THE Southern California Sociological Society was organized in 1916 by a small group of students interested in sociology, who had for their ambition "the increase and diffusion of sociological knowledge, through research, discussion and publication." Thus five years of service have been completed; the Society has now grown in interest and numbers until the new year finds it planning to carry out a definitely enlarged program.

The present issue of the Journal of Applied Sociology is the first step in this program. It combines the former publications of the Society — the Monographs and News Notes, which had heretofore been published separately — and contains specially contributed articles and book reviews. The editor of the Journal is Emory S. Bogardus, head of the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern California. The associate editors are Clarence E. Rainwater, William C. Smith, and Melvin J. Vincent, all of whom are members of the regular staff of the Department.

The name of the magazine — Journal of Applied Sociology — is derived from an analysis by that distinguished pioneer in sociology, Lester F. Ward, whose classification

of the field of sociology was threefold:— pure sociology, applied sociology, and social reform. To the casual reader the difference between social reform and applied sociology is not clear, but in the book entitled *Applied Sociology*, Professor Ward makes the following distinction: “Applied sociology is not government or politics, nor civic or social reform. It does not itself apply sociological principles; it seeks only to show how they may be applied. — The most that it claims to do is to lay down certain general principles as guides to social and political action.”

The article in the current issue by Dean Frank Wilson Blackmar on “A Justifiable Individualism” finds its place in our first issue as a happy example of applied sociology. There are several types of individualism today, and that type which is dedicated to social service must be distinguished from the purely individualistic, selfish types.

In addition to the publication of the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, the Society holds regular meetings on the first Wednesday of each month to which prominent persons in the field of sociology are invited to speak on some of the major problems facing the modern sociologist and social worker.

A second annual sociological conference is being planned, the first one having been inaugurated with the Conference of June 22, 1921. The current issue of the *Journal* is devoted primarily to the addresses made at the first conference, and it is expected that each year one issue may be given over entirely to the annual conference.

Through the above plans the Society hopes to add another link to its chain of endeavor, striving to bind, not only its own members, but all persons who are interested in applied sociology in a closer union, and to foster an appreciation of the wider interests of the nation and the world.

## A JUSTIFIABLE INDIVIDUALISM

By FRANK WILSON BLACKMAR.

*Dean of the Graduate School, University of Kansas*

THIS is an era of social service. The stupendous demands of the world to care for the less fortunate members of society have quickened the philanthropic spirit to do for others to an extent heretofore unknown in the history of the human race. The movement is marked by thousands of organizations and societies collecting millions of dollars to relieve suffering, to improve material comforts, and to make a better social life. While not ignoring individual culture the basis of the activity is to make this world a fit habitation for all members of the human race. *Speaking sociologically* it is the fulfillment of the latest phase of practical civilization which teaches men to live together justly, righteously, and harmoniously. *Speaking ethically* it is an attempt to realize upon the teachings of the man of Galilee of the duty of man to his fellows—of brotherly love and sacrifice for others. It is, in fact, the ethical redemption of the race. From these two sources a wave of philanthropy has generated and spread over the world. War and its terrors and the suffering caused by it have quickened the philanthropic pulse and stimulated altruistic motives.

Simultaneous with this movement is the agitation for universal democracy and social and economic equality, the tendency of which has been to absorb the individual in the mass, and subject him to a rule of the many. It has augmented the power of institutions and suppressed individual initiative.

The aspects of modern civilization give a vision of a

machine-made world. Our ethics and our economics and our politics are machine-made. We go to the industrial world for our economic standards. Smaller grows the individual influence, greater the limiting power of the mass; everywhere is the command, fall in line. When the socialist takes up the defense of the individual, he ends with making the compact more binding. When the anarchist preaches his theory of individual independence, he ends by suppressing liberty and increasing the dominant power of authority.

The coin that formerly was bestowed by the giver to relieve the immediate sufferings of the neighbor now travels thousands of miles and is administered by great organizations to relieve distress and to reform the human race. The products of the toil of the laborer enter a great economic system run by power machinery and managed by an endless organization before it returns to him the necessities of life. He becomes a mere cog in the great industrial machine. The churches and the religious societies are co-operating in tremendous organizations in mass formation to carry the gospel to the world. The former simple duties of the citizen have been extended to embrace a world democracy. Based on the mastery of natural powers the industrial world becomes a vast mechanism. Based on the industrial mechanism society becomes a vast machine in which the individual sinks into insignificance.

If one stands on a lofty peak in the Sierras with the broad expanse of the mountain ranges extending in every direction, or gazes into the vast expanse of the starry heavens above, the consciousness of the littleness of the individual is overwhelming. He is powerless, awe-stricken before the great creation. Likewise standing at the doorway of the future and catching a vision of the vast mechanism of society, the individual realizes his insignificance. He lives his little round of duties according to

order and when he is finished the great social machinery sweeps on without him. Yet this individual is greater than a galaxy of the heavens.

While these great movements of the social life are to be praised as the products of human endeavor, is it not time, "lest we forget," to consider that they depend for their success upon *a justifiable individualism*; and that without this type of individualism the industrial, political, and religious systems of the world—yes, the whole social fabric will eventually fail?

All achievement starts and ends with the individual being. He is the material out of which the super-structure of civilization is reared. This little human dynamo is the source of the power of which the world takes pride. While our education, our religion, our social reform have become mass plays, it must be understood that political, religious, or social organizations will not in themselves redeem the human mind from error nor establish happiness among mankind. The world cannot be redeemed by formula; men may not be educated or reformed in phalanxes. The great group activity of modern life has thrust aside the individual as an ideal. The old theory that if the individual, sound in body, sound in mind, with sterling moral qualities were properly trained he would carry into the world the leaven of righteousness and leaven the whole lump, has been overshadowed by the gigantic mass play of social reform and human progress. The reason for this change has its source in the fact that the individual has not been transformed to satisfy the demands of the social order. So the conclusion is reached by many reformers that individualism has no place in social progress. The error consists in repudiation instead of regeneration. Even the sociologists deny the existence of the old individual and demand a new type created by society itself.

While it is inevitable that this old time individual should

be thrust aside as inadequate it is well to remember the source of his creation and his failure to function. It should not be forgotten that there is a foundation for this individualism which is deep-seated in nature. Nature has much to do with the creation of this neglected individual and no social formula that does not recognize this can hope to get very far in the improvement of the race. It is necessary to work with nature to secure progress; even then we must be very wise for nature has no ideals, no aims, but moves in accordance with well defined laws external to self-determination.

Not only are men born into this world with different mental traits and unequal capacities, but their effort to survive makes traits and capacities more divergent in their adoption—for nature's processes accentuate inequalities rather than diminish them. This same nature has implanted in man a desire for individual survival. His first interest was self-interest; his first love was self-love. Primitive morality increases the opportunity to survive, but does not destroy the individual desires. The law of survival applies to man's spiritual existence as well as to his physical life; he desires spiritual survival as well as physical. The chief difference rests in the fact that primarily he is governed by the laws of organic evolution, while in the spiritual development he sets up an ideal and by effort and will-force attempts to approximate it. More than this he seeks to raise the standard of his ideals, struggling to higher planes of spiritual existence. Yet there are spiritual differences and different spiritual capacities. His process of accomplishment is through association with his fellows. The law of love is added to the law of physical process. Even this adds to his individual powers. He solves the social paradox by gaining strength through assisting his fellows. He learns that "It is more blessed to give than to receive," because it is ethical and scientific as well.



The environmental conditions, social and industrial, frequently determine the character of individualism. In the early history of the nation in a sparse population and a simple life great emphasis was placed upon individual effort; indeed the mastery of a new country demanded it. The Puritan conscience stimulated it and the moral doctrines of the time preached thrift and the accumulation of property as necessary qualities of righteousness. The laws provided amply for the protection of property rights and the constitution perpetuated and enforced them. The idea of success primarily based on righteousness gradually came to be shifted to the accumulation of property as a measure of success.

The idea of early democracy enhanced the importance of the individual, for democracy had for its ideal the freedom and independence of the individual. In the mastery of the Mississippi Valley the stern efforts of the individual to subdue the soil and to build homes on the frontier made this individualism supreme. Not until this class of western pioneers expressed themselves at the polls was real democracy born in America. This simple, frugal hard-working life, built on thrift and conscience represents one of the best phases of American life.

But in the latter part of the nineteenth century with increased wealth, with population of great cities and the development of manufactures by the introduction of the machine, the passion for great wealth changed the attitude of the individual. The glory of the individual was not in achievement of moral values, but success was measured by the accumulation of wealth. Gradually the individual became commercialized and spurious, and group activity became dominant.

"The same laws of survival apply to the organized group in its relation to other groups. While the progress of the law of love and the establishment of justice among

men has been slow to manifest itself, individuals in their relations to one another may obey and practice it, but as soon as they become members of a group they follow the group. Too frequently a group organized economically, politically, or religiously, seeking its own survival, manifests all the fangs and claws of red-handed nature. It proposes to survive in its contest with other groups by destruction or domination of its enemies. A person may be to all intents and purposes a Christian, but when he joins such a group the result of his action is pagan. The group becomes non-ethical, and no ethical social order can be put into practice where communities are dominated by selfish groups struggling with each other for supremacy and destroying and trampling upon the rights of individuals.

"I know a man who appears to be honest in his dealings with his neighbors and a devout member of the church but who strikes hands with political demagogues and shysters, and develops a venal political gang. I know a man who in all his personal dealings with his neighbors and friends is controlled by the law of social ethics, but he joined an incorporated body of citizens who were seeking to amass wealth regardless of social welfare. He became one of the predatory band combined to carry out his selfish purpose regardless of the effect on the rights of individuals and of community welfare. As an individual he is a Christian, as a member of the corporation he is a pagan dwelling with pagans and fighting a pagan's battle.

"We have not been able to project our idealism into practical life. Practically we are ruled by commercialism, we are materialists; theoretically we are spiritual. A man will talk democracy, swear by the principles of Jefferson and the Constitution, talk justice and equality to all, and then enter a combination with his fellows to put over a political scheme or commercial combination for the per-

petuation of group selfishness. If he could be oriented from practice he is a Christian and a democrat, but as part of a group he is an autocrat and a pagan. Individually and theoretically he is controlled by the law of love, but as a member of a group he is controlled by organic evolution or the survival of the fittest. As an individual he is spiritual; as a member of the group he is materialistic. Until this spiritual life can be made to permeate all activities large or small, we may not hope for a homogeneous working society."\*

In the social ethics of the business world the German people ranked high, but Germany as a political group was non-ethical. She was red-handed in a ruthless struggle for survival. She taught and practiced dominance at the expense of others. As a nation she was a monster of moral apostasy. The individual conscience was submerged by the selfish greed of the group, and until that individual conscience is again free to act there is no hope of a regenerated Germany. The whole world has revealed the selfishness of the political and the economic group. The only redemption is the leavening influence of the quickened conscience and consecrated will of the individual.

Again, the problems of the practical life enforce the idea of individualism. To make better individual men and women is after all the universal aim of the social process. If a teacher in a college or university did not make better men and women of those under his direction, he would be an acknowledged failure. If a minister of the gospel did not make better men and women of those under his care he would be an admitted failure. But is the principle involved in regard to the employer of labor different? The man in control of the shoe factory is doing a great public service when he co-operates with labor to make good shoes

\*Excerpts from "A Working Democracy," F. W. Blackmar, Vol., XIV, Publications of the American Sociological Society.

for the public, but has he done his full duty as trustee for social production, unless he makes better men and women of those in his employ? Has the great railroad company fulfilled its whole duty when it has furnished transportation at a reasonable rate? Should it not be held responsible for making better men and women of those in its employ? Capital and labor, employer and employee co-operate to make a finished product for the service of mankind. Should they not co-operate in making better men and women? Tradition has said that the preacher and the teacher are missionaries of moral responsibility. Are they any more responsible for the welfare of those associated with them in their business than are those who control the great business enterprises around which cluster the masses of humanity? No man has a right to individual control of business solely for his own gain; no one is justifiable in his individualism who does not assume responsibility for the moral and economic condition of those with whom he associates. *The only individualism that is justifiable is that which is built up in the service of others.*

The labor-capital problem is still unsolved. Indeed, under present conditions it is a menace to justice. How little we know about it; how little the contending parties know of each other. The main difficulty is found in misunderstanding. There is too much mass treatment of humanity, and too little opportunity for the exercise of individual choice and responsibility. All our social work with the laboring population has left the great problem unsolved. Irregularity of employment, subservience to forces beyond his control and no security of life make the laborer an irregular and irresponsible worker, and an irregular and irresponsible man.

The great problem of the relation of organized capital and organized labor today hinges on the status of the individual laborer. What does he want? True he wants a

living wage, but greater than this is his desire for opportunity to be somebody. With him the job with a living wage is a means to an end. He wants approbation; he wants the human touch of life more than anything else. He wants a belief in himself as an individual. He wants an opportunity to show his fellows in his group the kind of workman he is and not to be a mere cog in a complicated machine. Until he has an opportunity for this appreciation he will not be a successful individual. He must appreciate the importance of his work and be made to feel that he is rendering an appreciated service. Fundamentally a living wage and shorter hours of labor are necessary, but this will not solve the labor problem.

The desire to become part manager in the business does not dominate the individual laborer to the extent which agitators and writers seem to indicate. Deep in his heart he wishes friendly co-operation with others in making better living conditions with liberty of action as a man. He does not want charity, he does not want philanthropy, he does not want to be patronized, he wants to be a man among men. Wherever this fundamental cause does not exist among laborers it should be inculcated, for only through this can self-respect and character be developed.

The independent conscience is submerged in group activity. The group is frequently lacking in ethical nature. Its conscience is not the conscience of the individual members of the group. It has not been grounded in moral principle, for it is still a provincial race morality. But failure of individual conscience cannot be overcome by group morality or by group action of any kind.

Individual morality must be put on a higher plane. It must be based on keen insight, a quickened conscience, and an individual responsibility of life. More of its idealism must be merged into the practical service to the larger humanity of mankind. Ideals must be reduced to a

working basis. We need a new individualism, not of Adam Smith, of John Locke, nor indeed the individualism of the early pioneers of American achievement, but an individualism that rises supreme in conscience and character above the fogs of the social order. This new individualism is not triumphant overlordship of fellow workers, but one whose right to existence is founded on individual character and social achievement. This individualism must have a broader base than mere earning capacity; it is the individualism of service; it is the glory of excellence of work, of accomplishing something worth while; it is a disinterested attempt to put value into the world, not an inglorious attempt to take unto itself the products of what others have wrought.

Before this old individualism is transformed a social justice must prevail that gives each one an opportunity for life and success. It is the long sought square deal of humanity. Jealousy and envy of individual rights and privileges must be replaced by zeal for social responsibility. To survive in the modern social order, is to be the best as well as the fittest. No individual may achieve real success at the expense of the suffering and failure of his fellows. Through necessary organization of effort a great social machine was developed in which the ordinary individual became a mere cog. Only those who by insight or ruthless endeavor were able to control the commercial and industrial forces became dominant individuals. These became the group that is known as profiteers. To take profit becomes the ideal of life. The simple righteousness of individual thrift thus becomes a menace to social order, when worked out with multiplied power of industrial development and industrial opportunity. This incongruity of democratic life led to a call for social service. But social service failed to remedy the deep-seated evils engendered by the enormous importance placed on the own-

ership of wealth. The next phase of thought was to do away with individualism and develop socialism, community ownership and equality in the production and the use of wealth. This idea has degenerated into extreme radicalism of today which is nothing more than an attempt to put into practice the spurious doctrines of Marxian socialism. Socialization of the conscience and the will, and indeed of the memory will succeed but socialization of property will not.

Instead of seeking a remedy in the extinction of individualism it should be sought in creating a new regenerated individualism—an individualism that seeks to survive only through co-operation with and service to others. The individual who has accumulated wealth thus becomes a trustee of that wealth with a view to the betterment of society. This might be extended to all powers of the individual, inherited or obtained through education. He becomes a trustee of those powers for social betterment.

Our educational system is showing the dominance of the social order. The growth of higher educational institutions has conformed to an expanding civilization; first, the college following the main thought of the English universities with the main purposes of educating ministers, and Indians; then the college of liberal learning for the educated few, emphasizing the classics and the literary studies, and introducing natural science and modern languages, history and political science and sociology; then the special schools of medicine, law, and engineering; and finally, vocational training. Gradually the field of education has been expanded to teach everything that the variety of life of the public demanded. Gradually the plans of college education were lowered to take in all classes of people. An institution once sacred to the few elect becomes a place where the sons and daughters of

wage earners, artisans, professional people, the rich and the poor, from every walk of life mingled together on a common basis. This no doubt is as it should be, but the excessive demands of the public has forced the program of the college to educate everybody in everybody's own way. As a result we have developed quantity schools instead of quality schools, and have mass education instead of individual instruction. We have been forced to teach subjects rather than teach men and women. We have paid too little attention to superiors and wasted our energy in trying to elevate mediocrity.

What is needed is a return to the starting point of demarcation, and build up a new individualism in education.

It is common talk that colleges develop leadership, but the selection and training of leaders is not practiced. Too many of the thousands who attend our colleges are there because it is a mode of life, or because of a desire for commercialized use of education. Each year the tide of high school graduates rises; each year more flow into the universities and colleges. The remedy is found in more and better equipment, better teachers, fewer students per teacher and individualism in instruction, and a better system of weeding out those who are not inspired to higher learning. A college education is a sacred thing, something to be cherished in itself, something to be consecrated to the service of others. In the school as elsewhere in life there are two classes of people, those who do the work and those who get in the way. Too much energy is spent on the latter class and too little on the former.

In the dedication of a great hall like this to higher learning, let us see to it that it is for the high purpose of scholarship, intellectual and moral integrity, and social service, and that students shall not be taught *en masse*, but as individual minds to be trained and individual characters to be developed that leaders in science, religion, social order,



and statescraft shall not be wanting in the land.

Our education should seek to give moral vision of life and moral achievement as the special estimates of success. There is danger in excessive vocational training because the basic principle is the power of the dollar to achieve success. To give people intellectual integrity, to teach them to see straight, and moral integrity to do right, to set higher ideals and teach men to follow them, is more important than to teach them the process of the accumulation of wealth. Our schools are teaching much sociology which after all is for the purpose of understanding society and of causing people to live together harmoniously and justly without waste of individual or social energy. All should be prepared to serve society and many should be trained in the principles and practice of social direction. There is need today of social engineers as well as civil, mechanical, and chemical engineers. Society has become such a great machine that it must be directed by experts. We need to know how to live together in harmonious co-operation. The World War with all its horrors is but a brutal acknowledgment that we have not yet learned how to live harmoniously and justly. James Bryce in his latest book asserts that Christianity is not practiced. Social revivals, humane laws, social service, sweeping reforms, religious propaganda, all good in themselves will not suffice. The individual material out of which the social superstructure has been reared, is the crux of the whole matter. If we would build wisely we must have better material.

Let our education see to it that this individual shall be well born, well trained in body and in mind, sound in moral ideals, effective in moral practice, and filled with a spirit of service to others. Let him pride himself in his individualism as an instrument for the betterment of the race and he will possess *a justifiable individualism*. More-

over let him abide by the teachings of the Man of Galilee, and his justifiable individualism will become a *glorified individualism*.

## EDUCATIONAL SOCIAL WORK IN NORTH CAROLINA

EUGENE C. BRANSON.

*Head of the Department of Rural Economics and Sociology,  
University of North Carolina.*

SEVEN out of every ten families in North Carolina live outside of towns and cities of any type or size. There are also seven rural families to the square mile throughout the state. They are located not in farm communities but in solitary dwellings. They settled in social isolation in an earlier day and so they remain. The inward urge to organization has been small, and the excessive private-local public laws of the state reflect the dominant private-local mindedness of the people. But North Carolina now is moving out of private mindedness into civic and social mindness.

In North Carolina more than half the dwellings in town and country districts are occupied by renters. This is similar to the situation in the United States as a whole where according to the 1920 census 55,000,000 people out of 92,000,000 were landless and homeless—a sorry state of affairs in a country where there are so many idle, wilderness acres. In North Carolina 1,200,000 people, of both races, are landless and homeless—cultivating other people's acres and, like poor Dante, going up and down other people's stairs. Our farm tenants are pilgrims and sojourners, with no stake in the land. They are forever seeking new fields and have little chance to develop "an abiding interest in schools and churches, in good roads, public sanitation, in local law and order, in community organizations and enterprises for progress and prosperity,

welfare and well being.”\* The fatal law governing these circumstances is: The more populous and prosperous a community becomes, the fewer the people who live in homes of their own, and the larger the multitude of tenants and renters.

Isaiah's analysis of the cause is correct when he says that it lies in joining house to house and laying field to field until no place is left in the earth for the poor.

In North Carolina we are seeking the way out along three lines: (1) in establishing co-operative credit unions among groups of small wage earners and among our farmers, under our present co-operation laws; (2) in a large expansion of business by our building and loan associations, and (3) in a proper progressive land tax, modeled on the New Zealand laws which have now been operating for twenty-five years or more.

The *modus operandi* by which the University is assisting in the solution of rural problems in North Carolina, such as the problem which has been briefly described, is illustrated by the University News Letter and by the State and County Clubs. The news letter is a weekly publicity news sheet which goes directly into 20,000 homes of North Carolina for fifty-two weeks of the year. It goes free of charge to everybody who wants it and writes for it. It is a weekly message from the University to the people of North Carolina. The University News Letter is not a college gossip sheet, nor a college advertising sheet. It is a publication which for seven years has been giving the results of the nearly 800 studies that have been made in the fields of local economics, sociology, and civics in North Carolina.

The work on which the news letter articles are based is done by volunteer students and members of the faculty of the University. These volunteers from year to year

\*E. C. Branson, *The University of North Carolina Record*, January, 1921, pp. 62ff.

number about one hundred. When the work by the students attains to the laboratory standards of the Department of Rural Economics and Sociology it receives regular university credit.

The idea behind the news letter is that the specific job of the social sciences is that of helping people to become competently aware of the problems of life and livelihood, of arousing social consciousness, of assisting the people to understand the civic concerns and interests of the state. To build up a robust sense of social and civic responsibility is a tremendous task for a university and we are trying to do it without having Harvard or Columbia in the tail of our eye, but with our eye full upon the people of North Carolina, whom we are trying to serve.

The work of the county clubs is illustrated by the activities, for example, of the forty-seven men in the University this year from Johnston County, which is in the very heart of the cotton belt. They are grouped as the Johnston County Club, not for the purpose of having their pictures taken for the college year book, but to study Johnston County. They publish a bulletin containing ten or twelve brief chapters or so, on historical backgrounds, natural resources and opportunities, manufacturing industries, the folks and their social problems, wealth and taxation, farm conditions and practices, school conditions, and so on. One chapter is entitled, "Where Johnston County Lags," and another, "Where Johnston County Leads, and The Way Out." They study their home county, and rank it in nearly 400 different particulars with every other county in the state. They find, for instance, that Johnston County has \$270 per inhabitant in automobile wealth, but only \$14 per inhabitant invested in public school property; that Johnston County ranks fifth in automobile wealth, but only 98th in public school wealth; or second in cotton production and only 75th in home

and farm ownership. These figures are merely illustrative.

Ten such intensive county studies are in print and eighty more are ready for the printers, when the counties get ready to pay the publication costs.

The effect of these bulletins is dynamic. They give the people for the first time a chance to look at their home county in comparison with every other county in the State. These studies give college men an opportunity to relate culture to citizenship and learning to life. They are enabled to climb up and peep over the rim of the campus bowl into the affairs of the big wide world where in a year or two they will rise or fall according to their competent acquaintance with life in the large, and their power of mastery over themselves and the situations that confront them.

The University News Letter has brought the people to believe that the University of North Carolina is not thinking first and most about itself, but first and most about North Carolina. The State and the County Clubs, based on the work in the regular courses for college and graduate students in rural economics and sociology, are giving a wholesome publicity to the economic, social and civic problems of the state.

# PROBLEMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AT THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC, CHINO, CALIFORNIA

By GEORGE S. SUMNER.

*Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology, Pomona College.*

THE George Junior Republic that is located near Chino, California, aims to develop self-control and self-respect in all its citizens. The number of boys averages about eighty—forty to sixty per cent of whom are committed by the Juvenile Court, the remainder being placed in the Republic by parents. The group is selected; the Republic aims to take boys who need what it can give and who can respond to what it can give. Among the handicaps is the fact that courts and parents try to send too many individuals who will not respond and cannot be helped. None are admitted under fourteen years of age and none over eighteen. Special care is taken not to admit any feeble-minded or morons.

The Republic has the most effective school system of its type that there is on the Pacific Coast, with interest in different lines, particularly in agriculture. This school is conducted in connection with the state school system, but with men who are selected because they can contribute, through their special ideals, to better character. The Republic tries to build up self-control and self-respect as a means toward making better citizens. Boys are at the Republic because they have not been able to resist temptation, hence some time is required for them to become good citizens—how long is determined by the character of the individual.

Since the Republic has a system of self-government, the

question immediately arises, What problems of government are the boys able to handle? There are some, of course, that they cannot solve and it is much better when these are taken care of by the regular Republic officials. These however are few in number. With the coming and going of boys the line of demarcation varies. When new boys enter the Republic they feel that some of the problems handled by the officials should be taken care of by the boys, and the classification must be made again. The Junior Republic citizens must have a limited jurisdiction in the same way that citizens of a city are limited. Then the question arises, Who is to judge whether a specific problem comes under the jurisdiction of the boys or of the officials? The boys have compared their laws with the code of the city and state, and have decided that problems which fall under the jurisdiction of the justice or police courts can be settled by themselves, while those which are governed by the higher courts must be settled by the officials.

Any institution that is successful must be a living institution. It must not be too mechanical. It is natural and normal for the boys to want to make changes and they must be allowed to discuss many questions. Very frequently, if left to themselves, they accept the thing they have been objecting to, and sometimes they suggest even better methods than those in operation.

Of what does self-government consist?

1. Passing the laws or ordinances, and repealing those that have become obsolete. A small group of officers among the boys frame most of the legislation and present it at the meetings of the citizens for discussion and changes, with the result that it is usually accepted as presented.

2. Choosing the officers. It is not necessarily the most popular boy who makes the best officer, because sometimes he has not reached the point where he can control himself, not to mention the problem of controlling others.



But the officials must allow the boys to elect their own officers. If two boys are nominated and the officials know that one has found himself and the other one has not, it would be an easy matter for them to carry the election for the superior lad. But they dare not do it; they must not seem to be forcing their choices. They must at all times be willing to give advice, but must not dictate. They know if the wrong man is elected the boys will soon find him out and remove him. The boys have their own methods of acting.

3. Managing the court. The court at the Republic is interesting, because a boy acts as judge and boys serve as jurors when trials are called. Cases are taken very seriously. Of course, a poor judge usually brings about a poor series of decisions, and a good judge, a good series of decisions. Hence it is necessary to allow an appeal. There are two possible appeals: (a) appeal to the officials and the instructors at the Republic, and (b) appeal to the high or supreme court, selected from the board of trustees of the Republic. There has never been a case appealed to the supreme court in the eight years I have been on it. However, as one of the boys explained, "The Supreme Court is distinctly worth while in that we feel that there is somebody outside of the immediate Republic to appeal to, who won't have any of the prejudices that we have in the cases."

In conclusion, let us note four things:

1. We must remember that the Republic is not an end—it is simply a means to an end. It is one of the institutions that ought to aid in the development of character, leadership and self-control.

2. There are times of disappointment, when the plan does not seem to be working; then it almost seems impossible not to exercise a strong hand of control.

3. We must bear in mind the importance of variety. We

must not let things get in a rut; the government must be kept vital.

4. We must definitely remember that there is a place in the system of self-government for the older person, the mature man of experience. This place is filled by the boy's counsellor, the official, or the instructor. He may disrupt the government in a few weeks' time or he may greatly assist the government.

We feel much encouraged, for unquestionably a great deal has been accomplished for the Republic boys. The record is one to point to with pride, despite the fact that there are periods of a few months when things have gone badly. We feel satisfied that the Republic will be more and more effective because we now have a select group of boys whom we think can respond to what we have to give. We believe, further, that relating the training work in the Republic to the state educational system has been a good thing, not only for the boys, but also in demonstrating the possibilities of agricultural and industrial specialization in a "twenty-four hour school."

## OUTDOOR RELIEF WORK IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

By D. F. McLAUGHLIN

*Assistant Superintendent of Charities, County of Los Angeles.*

THE main phases of the public charities of Los Angeles County are represented by the county hospital, the county farm, and outdoor relief. For the purpose of meeting the outdoor relief needs the county, including the City of Los Angeles, is divided into several sections. The city is divided into four districts. Outside the city is the North Coast District, embracing the Santa Monica Bay region, San Fernando Valley, and the Antelope Valley to the Ventura County line. The Border District embraces the San Gabriel Valley, including Monrovia, Pomona, Azusa and other suburban towns. South Coast or "Shoestring" District embraces the territory of Watts, Compton, Gardena and Inglewood, and suburban towns including San Pedro and Redondo. For Long Beach there is a triangular arrangement between the City of Long Beach, the Long Beach Welfare League and the County Outdoor Relief Division. For Pasadena there is a co-operative arrangement between the City of Pasadena and the Outdoor Relief Division. The outdoor relief for the aged is organized separately under the direction of a supervisor who handles only cases of this type.

The Outdoor Relief Division has fifty-nine employees. Of this number thirty-one are field visitors and ten are student visitors, five conduct the work of the salvage bureau, and the remainder are executives or clerks. During the current fiscal year (revised to June 30, 1921), the total amount of money expended for outdoor relief by the

Division was \$536,491.18. Of this sum the total outdoor relief care of children amounted to \$236,758.32. This includes both state and county aid. The transportation of indigents back to their home counties in various parts of the United States cost \$22,422.00. The cost of administering the entire outdoor relief by the Division was \$83,969.87, or a total overhead of 13.54 per cent.

During the fiscal year (revised to June 30, 1921), the causes of dependency varied widely. Of 4,391 cases in which the primary cause was checked, twenty-nine sets of factors were found. These are noted in the accompanying table:

|                         |             | Per Cent    |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Accident, general       | 73          | 1.7         |
| Accident, industrial    | 47          | 1.1         |
| Acute illness           | 438         | 10.0        |
| Blindness               | 80          | 1.8         |
| Bad housing             | 10          | .2          |
| Chronic disability      | 586         | 13.3        |
| Death in family         | 82          | 1.9         |
| Death of breadwinner    | 332         | 7.5         |
| Desertion               | 320         | 7.3         |
| Epilepsy                | 16          | .4          |
| Feeble-mindedness       | 36          | .8          |
| Ignorance of English    | 5           | .1          |
| Illegitimacy            | 22          | 5.0         |
| Imprisonment            | 96          | 2.2         |
| Insanity                | 67          | 1.5         |
| Insufficient employment | 859         | 19.5        |
| Intemperance            | 7           | .2          |
| Maternity               | 96          | 2.2         |
| Non-support             | 121         | 2.8         |
| Occupational disease    | 2           | .04         |
| Old age                 | 490         | 11.2        |
| Poorly paid employment  | 35          | .8          |
| Strikes                 | 1           | .02         |
| Tendency to beg         | 21          | .5          |
| Tuberculosis            | 307         | 7.0         |
| Unemployed ex. ab.      | 88          | 2.0         |
| Veneral disease         | 14          | .3          |
| Incompetency            | 56          | 1.24        |
| Other causes            | 84          | 1.9         |
|                         | <hr/> 4,391 | <hr/> 100.0 |

On January 10, 1921, one of our visitors was assigned to analyze case records in order to ascertain the number of unemployed among the cases handled, and through this operation we have been able to secure employment for approximately 500 individuals during the last six months. This, accomplished at a time when the unemployment situation is acute, is gratifying.

In the accompanying table it will be seen that insufficient employment is a primary cause in nineteen and one-half per cent of the total cases—normally, in recent years this cause has operated in about four per cent of the cases.

We are trying to work out a new idea for handling dependent children. Children should not be placed on probation or brought into the juvenile court simply because they are poor. The plan now being tried is one whereby dependent children are removed from the jurisdiction of the juvenile court and placed under the jurisdiction of public aid. Of the 5,062 children who are now under the care of the Outdoor Relief Division, less than one per cent are in institutions and only four and one-half per cent are in foster homes.

Another problem is represented by the indigent "aged couple." A husband and wife who have lived together for years should not be obliged to separate when they are poor and dependent on the state for aid. Our Division endeavors to see that such people are not segregated.

One of the most serious problems is that of the blind. When they come to the Division they are usually unable to work, and are entirely dependent upon the county or state for support. We are teaching them to make furniture and other useful articles and are preparing them to obtain positions and to make their own living.

Through the salvage bureau, we are teaching women to sew and make their own and their children's clothes; we are teaching them to operate machines, and in other ways

helping them to be self-supporting. The education of countless people is far behind their opportunities.

A large amount of poverty is caused by the fact that people are allowed to get into "blind alley" work. For instance, the boys in the messenger service have to work where they can make some money and help pay home expenses, but otherwise they are forgotten and allowed to go their own way, which often leads them into shooting dice in alleys, and to wasting their energies. Waves of industrial unrest are often caused by the fact that there are too many working people who are resting.

The best way for the public to co-operate in helping in relief work in this county is by keeping in touch with our Confidential Exchange, which comprises approximately 38,000 registrations of applicants for relief. Whenever a citizen meets an applicant for relief, he should report to the Confidential Exchange primarily to ascertain if the applicant is already being helped and also to learn if the Exchange knows anything concerning the applicant's past. By co-operation between the Exchange and the public in general, including teachers, nurses, doctors, dentists and others, much duplication of effort may be avoided and definite results may be accomplished.

## News Notes

Professor Ralph Burnight of the University of Peking is introducing to his Chinese students this year two new courses in sociology, namely, Social Surveys and Social Origins.

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Theron Freese whose monograph on *The Teaching of Sociology in High Schools* has attracted nation-wide attention, died on July 4, 1921 after a brief illness. Mr. Freese was a teacher of scholarly ways and excellent character.

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The October meeting of the Southern California Sociological Society will be held at the University of Southern California and addressed by G. Bromley Oxnam who will speak on Labor Conditions in England. Mr. Oxnam has been spending the summer in England and on the Continent.

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At the summer convocation the University of Chicago conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy upon Professor Clarence E. Rainwater, of the department of sociology, University of Southern California. Dr. Rainwater's new book on *The Play Movement* is being published by the University of Chicago Press and will be ready for use within a few weeks.

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Dean Frederic Siedenburg of the school of sociology of Loyola University addressed the social workers and sociologists of Southern California on July 26 and August 1. In the first address he argued for the principles of industrial democracy; and in the second, he pointed out some of the responsibilities of normal citizens in diminishing poverty and delinquency and in advancing the cause of public health.

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At the social hygiene conference held in Los Angeles, August 27, Dr. Valeria H. Parker of Washington, D.C., and head of the federal government's social hygiene work in the army and navy, outlined a program of action, including: (a) medical measures; (b) correct laws; (c) enforcement of these laws, applying them to men offenders as well as to women offenders; (d) wholesome recreational activities; and (e) the development of an interested and dynamic public opinion.

## Book Notes

SOCIOLOGY AND ETHICS. By EDWARD CARY HAYES, LL.D. Appleton, New York, 1921, pp. viii—354, \$3.00.

Since all human life develops out of social life the author turns not to *a priori* speculation or mystic faith but to a study of social life in order to find the bases of an ethics equal to the tremendous demands of the present threatening world conditions.

Another stimulating premise is the idea that all human life is participation in a gigantic Co-operative Enterprise. Every person is a participant in the co-operative enterprise of receiving, maintaining, and creating an evolving social situation. Everyone is a parent of humanity's future. Each act of every person helps to determine the future course of society.

Dr. Hayes vigorously attacks the theory of causeless freedom, substituting for it a determinism based on natural and social science, on organized intelligence, and on socialized reason. In this determinism, he finds a new freedom that expresses one's own deliberately approved ideals. Since all life is determined by *attention*, the only unpardonable sin is the failure to have and keep before the mind an honest ideal. In such an ideal intelligently and steadfastly followed is the greatest freedom.

The five ultimate values in life are the physical, esthetic, intellectual, social, and individual satisfactions. These may be secured through labor and the use of material goods. The life of society is controlled by four different sets of causes: (1) the biological, or psychophysical, traits of human organisms; (2) the varied geographic influences; (3) the artificial material environment; and (4) the causal interplay of social activities. Society's urgent duty to itself at the present time is to organize "the co-operative activity of men, women, and children in a harmonious system," where each person labors for all, and all for each.

In a recent book Professor David Snedden shows how educational leaders must look to the sociologists for the best statement of education's aims; in this volume Dr. Hayes points out that sociology holds the key to a scientific ethics, to an ethics adequate to meet the demands of the social order and social progress.

THE RUSSIAN BOLSHIEVİK REVOLUTION. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS, PH.D., LL.D., Century, New York, 1921, pp. xvi—302, \$3.00.

In this novel treatment of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, Professor Ross presents an historical analysis which grew out of his travels in Russia in 1918 and which received a descriptive expression under the title of *Russia in Upheaval*.

In the *Russian Bolshevik Revolution* the author confines himself to the ten months from March to December, 1918. He presents much data, follows closely the chronological order of events, and gives many short excerpts from source materials of varying quality. The book is a logical, interesting narrative of the downfall of the Czar, the rise and defeat of Kerensky, the Kornilof episode, and the rise of



Lenine, Trotsky, and the Soviets. Of the few deductions which are made the following will serve as illustrations:

"The developments of the eight months between the March Revolution and the November Revolution were not caused by leaders, but were inevitable, given the background of experience of the Russian common people."

"The robbed and oppressed masses — a hundred millions of men and women — moved toward the goal of their long unfulfilled desires like a flow of molten lava that no human force can dam or turn aside."

Professor Ross believes that in 1918 Russia had become the battleground of international socialists and international capitalists, one group caring primarily to bring on world revolution and the other group to vindicate the property rights of the bourgeoisie, but neither caring primarily to benefit the common people. In their rage the masses ignored the Constituent Assembly which was an open door to freedom and justice and by no means class bound; they proceeded to dynamite themselves out of their thralldom.

An index to the book is needed. References to authorities if put in footnotes and appended at the close would greatly increase the historical value of the volume, and at the same time in no way impair its readableness.

JAPAN AND THE CALIFORNIA PROBLEM. By T. IYENAGA, PH.D., and KENOSKE SATO, M.A. Putnam, New York, 1921, pp. vi—249.

The two scholarly Japanese authors of this book have approached the Japanese-California problem with an understanding of Japanese traits and California conditions, and with a desire to reach a solution of the problem that will be fair to California and that will not disturb the peace of the world. Fundamental to the whole treatment of the theme is the earnest attempt of the authors to arrive at a procedure which will make it possible for the white and yellow races, while remaining biologically distinct, to contact each other in endless ways and to work together in close co-operation, securing an ultimate harmonious progress. The steadfast course is set of securing a better mutual understanding between these two branches of civilization.

The authors contend that the Japanese in California are assimilable if the environment is characterized by a friendly spirit, encouragement, and sympathy. They ask for a new attitude that will be just to Californians and to Japanese residents, both aliens and American born, and suggest the formation of a committee of a dozen or more members who are public-spirited men of broad vision from both countries, and particularly of California, for the primary purpose of determining upon ways of relieving the congestion of the Japanese in California.

OUR SOCIAL HERITAGE. By GRAHAM WALLAS. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921, pp. 306.

The author distinguishes concisely and at length between biological heredity and social heritage, and makes a clear, strong delineation of the concept of *social heritage*.

The rapidity of the change in our social heritage is well illustrated by the fact that an encyclopedia becomes partly obsolete in twenty years. Inasmuch as our social heritage is developing and becoming more complex, certain parts of our bodily and

nervous structure (biologically inherited) are no longer needed and tend to degenerate. As a result man has become more and more dependent on his social heritage. The author does not discuss the ways in which a complex social heritage makes new and multiplied demands upon the biologically inherited bodily and neurological structure.

Among bees group co-operation assumes the character of a furious mass industry; among cattle, a blind herd discipline; but among human beings the social heritage has not yet developed beyond "a disorderly process of simultaneous clamor and action." Military heritage, however, is an exception.

National co-operation is more artificial and more dependent on socially inherited knowledge and conscious effort than is group co-operation. The individuals of a nation must generate therefore such an idea of their nation "as will form the most reliable stimulus to large-scale co-operative emotion and co-operative action."

Mr. Wallas pronounces world co-operation a necessity. If it is to endure, it must be based not on threats of war but on a consciously and steadily developing world policy. World policy must precede world law; it must grow out of conscious purpose instead of blind struggle. Science and all the other products of civilization must be made servants of world co-operation, and the individuals must become world men and world women in their cares and visions.

In the chapter on Professionalism the author analyzes the distinctive social heritages which have been developed by certain professions, such as law, medicine, the army, and teaching. Because of the social force which heritage blindly exerts, it becomes a chief function of each profession continually to examine and make over rationally its heritage. Each profession must guard itself also against the tendency of its social heritage to become dogmatic and formal.

**OLD WORLD TRAITS TRANSPLANTED.** By ROBERT E. PARK, professorial lecturer, University of Chicago, and HERBERT A. MILLER, professor of sociology, Oberlin College, Harper, New York, 1921, pp. 309, \$2.50.

Allen T. Burns has rendered a fine service in directing the publishing of eleven volumes on methods of Americanization. Whatever Mr. Burns is willing to underwrite on the subject of Americanization bears the stamp of sanity, incisiveness, and precise trends.

The volume at hand approaches the Americanization question by making a psychological analysis of "immigrant heritages," which are defined as "the fund of attitudes and values which an immigrant group brings to America — the totality of its environment and practices." These attitudes and values constitute "the fundamental patterns of life and behavior" which the immigrant possesses when he arrives at our port of entry. It is essential that all American citizens acting in the capacity of Americanization workers be put in command of these immigrant heritages, in order that they may enable the immigrants to contribute their best pattern ideas and contribute to American life and so become assimilated.

In doing their task the authors have presented 168 illustrative excerpts from letters, articles, and similar materials. From these there is drawn inductively the conclusion which are innate. The source materials are allowed first to speak for themselves, and then they are interpreted by the authors who turn upon them the searchlight of scholarly and scientific training.

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## BAD MARRIAGE AND QUICK DIVORCE

By GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

*Professor of sociology and political science, University of Nebraska.*

"QUICK LOVING a woman means quick not loving a woman," says one of the remarkable proverbs of the Guinea coast Negroes. As an American should say, "Married in haste we repent at leisure;" or, with more blunt reference to current events, "Frigolous, immature, or other bad marriages end in the divorce court."

The African proverb is not the only wise hint which so-called backward races can give us on the divorce question. Often among barbarous or even savage tribes are revealed a careful attention to detail, a common sense, a stability, and sometimes a respect for equity in the unwritten law regarding the making and the unmaking of marriages, which prejudice is scarcely prepared to find; while other peoples commonly looked upon as civilized, but relatively non-progressive, such as the Chinese, are quite capable of teaching us useful lessons. The divorced wife, for instance, is not cast adrift upon the world; almost always she has some place to go to, namely, her own family or clan, whose duty it is to care for her. In general, among rude peoples, a divorce is frowned upon after children are born; and even where great liberty of separation is allow-

ed, divorce is far less frequent than is popularly believed. Their conservatism is surprising. The American Indians are conspicuous in this regard. Some social customs which we have outgrown had virtue in them for the primitive family life. Wife-purchase and the blood-feud, for example, had each a steadying effect: for the one checked divorce through the pocketbook; the other, through dread of clan-vengeance.

*Cure Marriage, Cure Divorce.* It is well understood that the over-sophistication of present-day civilization—its complex relations, its congestion of population, its new and conflicting wants, its swiftly changing standards—has fostered some vicious habits unknown to primitive men. It is perfectly clear to any student of history whose vision is not obscured by ecclesiastical mist, that the swiftly rising divorce rate is due to bad social conditions which must be understood and remedied before the movement can be checked. In many ways, these conditions are disastrously affecting the popular ideals of wedlock and the family life. They are causing bad marriages to be contracted and they are sanctioning wrong connubial and domestic relations for which inevitably a remedy is sought—in most cases justly sought—in divorce. To lessen the number of divorces and so increase the sum of human happiness, it is needful to lessen the number of marriages which ought never to be formed. To do that, social conditions—the basic causes of such wrong mating—must be improved, chiefly through efficient education for marriage and the family life, supported by wise constructive legislation. Now what are the chief varieties of such bad marriages?

*Lightminded Wedlock.* First is that large class of unions entered into without serious thought. Some of these are frivolous, some immature, some otherwise lightminded.

For a long time in the United States, the age at which a man or a woman married was steadily rising. On the whole this upward movement was a hopeful sign; for it meant higher physical, mental, cultural, and financial fitness for family responsibility. Recently the tide has turned and the average wedding age is dropping. In part the change may be due to a feeling that the rising tide had reached the danger line; but in the main it may be accounted for by the sudden increase of thoughtless unions. All over the land is being sounded the alarm of the precocious social liberty allowed young boys and girls. Parties, balls, clubs, fraternities for children in the grades! Little misses overdressed—or underdressed—and bedizened in the class-room and on the street! Blasé at ten years of age and in near-evening dress at ten o'clock in the morning! All this excessive imitation of the social functioning of grown-ups means precocious stimulus of sex-consciousness; and thoughtless marriage is its natural fruit.

The levity with which marriages are often contracted is amazing and disheartening. Young persons who have never considered each other's spiritual fitness for lifelong companionship, who have not given a serious thought to the obligations of parentage, who have never read a book or had a lesson on the question of sex, heredity, or eugenics, rush into matrimony as if it were a transient fête or a "society function." Sometimes the wedding is made a prank or a show at a fair, on a train, in an airplane, or elsewhere, to gain prestige for "smartness." This is not the worst of it. Such persons seem never at a loss to find a justice or a minister to "solemnize" these travesties of the nuptial vows. Here is a typical example. The following paragraph relating to a notorious wedding resort in frivolidity with which the most important of human relations is sometimes treated:

"It is estimated that fully 20,000 people will visit this city tomorrow to attend the third annual Maccabees' county picnic. It is thought tomorrow will prove to be the greatest day in the history of St. Joseph as the Gretna Green of Chicago. Fully forty-four bridal couples will arrive from Chicago to take advantage of being married free, as is offered in a part of their program. The parties with matrimonial intentions, upon calling at Marriage Temple, will be furnished by County Clerk Needham with their license and a handsome marriage certificate, free of charge, provided they consent to be married in public from the veranda of the hotels. Any clergyman in the city, upon request, will officiate. Hundreds of excursionists from Indiana will come for the express purpose of witnessing the ceremonies."

How many of these two-score couples who were thus married in levity were later unmarried in sadness? Doubtless, the percentage was large. For one Gretna Green or "marriage resort" is far more harmful than many "divorce colonies," such as that at Reno. Indeed, the marriage resort is the fruitful mother of the divorce colony, and of many "regular" divorces besides.

Yet the levity continues. On October 10 of this year a press dispatch in a Los Angeles newspaper states that at the convention of the American Legion in Kansas City the Rev. John W. Inzer, chaplain of the legion, and a local jeweler have announced that all ex-service men may marry here free of cost. Inzer will perform the ceremony free, the jeweler will furnish the ring, and the other expenses of the ceremonies, which will be performed in the local churches, will be borne by the convention fund. "Cupid," we are assured, "will work fast."

It is earnestly to be hoped that the young men of the Legion may have better sense than to accept the light-minded suggestion. Surely the fate of the so-called pa-



patriotic war-marriages has given them serious warning. Patriotism is a worthy emotion; but it is not usually the right emotion on which to base happy and lasting wedlock. The "war brides" craze, which everywhere in the warring lands was so recklessly encouraged, is now yielding its evil fruit. These hasty weddings are now ending in quick divorce. A high authority recently announced that two thousand petitions were now on the waiting list in the English court, the offenders in most cases being fickle war brides. Is there any state in America which has not a similar record of broken vows?

*Tainted Wedlock.* What proper check is society placing upon the marriages of the physically or mentally unfit? How ignorantly, with what utter indifference are the most dangerous unions permitted; how many thousands of parents fail to give their children any serious warning against yielding to transient impulse in choosing a mate! Is there any boy or girl so immature if only the legal age of consent has been reached; is there any "delinquent" so dangerous through inherited tendencies to disease or crime; is there any worn out rake, who cannot somewhere find a magistrate or a priest to tie the "sacred" knot? "As our laws now stand," exclaims Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, "There is no man so drunken, so immoral, so brutal, so cruel, that he may not take to himself the purest, the most refined, the most sensitive of women to wife, if he can get her. There is no woman so paltry, so petty, so vain, so enfeebled in body and mind by corset or chloral, flirtation or worse, that she may not become the wife of an intellectual, honorable man, and the mother of his doomed children. There is no pauper who may not wed a pauper and beget paupers to the end of the story. There is no felon returned from his prison, or loose upon society uncondemned, who may not make a base play at wedlock, and per-

petuate his diseased soul and body in those of his descendants, without restraint." Thanks chiefly to the efforts of the sociologists, the picture need not now be quite so dark. A loftier ideal of wedlock has been slowly rising. Here and there schools and colleges are providing some instruction regarding sex problems and the obligations of marriage, parentage, and the family life. The movement for the legal sanction of eugenic marriage has won some protection. Yet but a small portion of our population has been reached by these various influences. Is there not abundant evidence that in many places every count in Mrs. Phelps's severe indictment is still valid?

The worst of all bad marriages are those tainted from the start by venereal disease. The great black plague is a constant menace to the family bond. According to Prince Morrow, fully one-eighth of all disease and suffering comes from this scourge. He estimates that 80 per cent of the "deaths from inflammatory diseases peculiar to women, 75 per cent of all special surgical operations performed on women, and over 60 per cent of all work done by specialists in diseases of women" are from this source; "while 50 per cent or more of these infected women are rendered absolutely and irremediably sterile." Such is the horrible penalty which the innocent wife and mother pays for the man's sin. Although usually the "conspiracy of silence" prevents the true cause from being named in the decree, there is small risk in saying that a vast number of divorces are due to the man's secret disease, discovered by the woman after taking the nuptial vow.

*Pseudo-Romantic Wedlock.* "Romantic love" or "falling in love" has gained almost a religious sanction among the majority of the good people in the United States. In its mediaeval origin, romantic love meant a lofty ideal of womanhood and of the marital relation. It signified a

striving to lift wedlock above the merely carnal and the material level and to place it on a spiritual plane. This ideal born of chivalry reaches its finest expression in the words of Milton. Rejecting the gross and carnal conception of the Fathers and the canonists, their glaring contradiction between marriage as a "defilement" and as a "sacrament," he urges that matrimony is a society "more than human, centering in the soul rather than in the body;" a companionship resting upon the "deep and serious verity" of "mutual love," without which wedlock is "nothing but the empty husks of an outside matrimony."

Forbid that I should do anything to lessen respect for this true and exalted ideal! It is not strange that we in America have glorified romantic love and contrasted it with the "marriage of convenience," the mere bargain of worldly prudence. Yet so-called romantic love—false romantic love—is one of the chief sources of frivolous marriage and quick divorce. It is a beautiful cloak which covers many a fatal blunder in choosing a mate. Said a good mother, when asked why she did not hinder her daughter from wedding a man plainly below her spiritual level, "How could I help it; they had fallen in love with each other!" Is there not something finer than "falling in love?" In thousands of cases, young persons give that name to mere sexual passion which scarcely outlives the honeymoon. Their unions are merely temporary sensual attachments.

"Growing in love" is better than "falling in love." The thought-out, deliberate evaluation of both bodily and spiritual qualities is safer. Is it not quite possible through intelligent training in the family and in the school gradually to establish such a custom, such a standard of mating, as shall secure enduring affection and a stable marriage relation? Greater tasks have been accomplished; for example, the establishment of the monogamic ideal of

the lifelong union of one woman with one man; the severest restraint which society has ever imposed on the human impulse.

*Risky Wedlock.* There are social conditions which constantly produce bad marriages that end in the divorce court. Many a woman to her later sorrow marries a "moderate drinker" without realizing her peril, or a drunkard in the hope of reforming him. That the sources of divorce are bad social conditions which may be remedied is illustrated by the sinister fact that directly and indirectly 184,568 divorces, or nearly 20 per cent of the entire number for the United States reported for the two decades 1887-1906, were granted for intemperance; and in nine-tenths of these cases the culprit was the man. Surely the situation called loudly, not for less divorce, but for less liquor and fewer saloons. So far as this one cause is concerned, the constitutional amendment securing nation-wide prohibition may prove to be the most effective uniform divorce law which could be enacted.

It is natural to ask whether it is possible to know how many of the divorces granted in a given period are due to frivolous or other bad marriages. Some light is thrown on the question in the special census report already mentioned. It there appears that the average duration of divorced marriages was ten years. The number of divorces granted in the first year of the wedded life for the whole period of the two decades was 18,876 or 2.1 per cent; in the second year, according to estimates, not less than 50,000; and in the third year, 61,481 or 6.8 per cent. It is, perhaps, fair to assume that many of these quick divorces were the natural fruit of wrong wedlock; but that very many of the decrees granted in the later years were due to the same cause, there can hardly be a doubt. The evils resulting from the original mistake may be endured for a long time before the crisis comes.

*How May Bad Marriages be Checked?* First of all we must try to focus public attention upon marriage rather than divorce. Divorce must be frankly accepted as an effect rather than a cause of bad social conditions; as a remedy for a social malady. To the sixteenth century reformer divorce was the "medicine for the disease of marriage." Emphatically it remains so today. The wise reformer must deal with causes rather than with effects. He will recognize that in a general but very real sense the divorced man or woman is a sufferer from bad social conditions which may be remedied. He will not waste his energies in unjustly punishing divorced people, although some of them may deserve punishment. Rather he will strive to lessen the social wrongs of which the divorced man or woman is usually the victim.. Let ecclesiastical synods, if they would serve society, concern themselves more with prevention of marriages of the unfit. Let them reflect on the social wickedness of joining in wedlock the innocent girl with the rich or titled rake; or uniting in the nuptial bond those who are tainted by inherited tendencies to disease or crime.

Secondly, greater stability of the family union may be secured through a thorough revision of our marriage laws. Let every marriage resort be closed. A good civil matrimonial code tends to check hasty, clandestine, frivolous, and immature wedlock. A bad marriage law favors such unions. Now, it may be reasonably doubted whether any people in Occidental lands has marriage laws so defective as ours. As a preliminary to any reform—to clear the field of a practice which is subversive of constructive legislation—the "common law" contract should be utterly abolished. Practically all the hardship and social anarchy caused by the canon law at its wickedest survives in our common law marriage. Yet in only 17 states, including California, have such unions been clearly declared invalid either by statute

or by court decision. The ages below which a marriage may be contracted ought to be that of legal majority for both the man and the woman. "Majority" is the law's simple device for securing mental maturity in the graver affairs of life. Is not wedlock as serious a business as making a will or signing a deed? Immature marriages are a prolific source of evil, including divorce; why should the parent, often ignorant or selfish, have the power of legalizing them by his consent?

We need, especially, a better and a uniform license system, so as to secure full publicity and faithful compliance with the spirit of the law. It should include a provision for the announcement of intention to marry so that at least ten days' advance notice should be given before the issuance of the license. For all applicants only five states now require such an advance notice of from two to five days. There are many other defects in the marriage laws of the States which may not here be mentioned.

Finally, there is need of a better informed public sentiment. Fill the minds of the young with social knowledge, and you will forestall domestic unrest and check family dissolution. We must foster a loftier ideal of the domestic relations. But the raising of ideals is a slow process. It will come only through a sound training of the young. We are in sore need of a rational system of education, broad enough to embrace the whole complex problem of sex, marriage and the family.

# THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

By BENJAMIN S. WEISS

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AT THE PRESENT TIME there are employed annually about fifteen hundred children in the production phase of the motion picture industry in Los Angeles. The nature of the industry is such that in few instances is the employment continuous. Some of these fifteen hundred children work only a few days annually, while there is a large number who are either working or seeking employment with the various producers the greater part of the time. The average actor spends about as much time waiting for a call from one of the producers, or in going about to the various studios seeking employment, as in actual work before the camera. Even when the employment is continuous for a given period, the actual work before the camera is rarely continuous. An emotional short circuit on the part of some star may cause hours of delay, while much time is also spent in rehearsing, preparing scenery, and correcting faults.

The writer's attention was called to this problem while employed in the Compulsory Education and Child Welfare Department of the Los Angeles Public Schools. There were numerous complaints on the part of school principals that children employed in the motion picture industry, either full or part time, were retarded in their work and also showed symptoms of physical and moral decline as a direct result from such employment.

During the school year 1919-1920, the writer investigated two hundred and twenty-five (225) cases ranging in

age from six to sixteen and including both sexes. The investigation was made in twenty-two (22) schools ranging from elementary to high school and covering every type of community from the slum district to the most exclusive residential section. Printed questionnaires were given to the teachers who were cautioned to answer the questions in an unprejudiced manner. The questions were worded as follows:

1. (a) What was the quality of the work done by the child before participating in motion picture production?  
(b) What is the present status of the child's work?
2. In your judgment has the participation in motion picture production been detrimental to this child other than in an educational way?

The replies to the first tended to establish with accuracy the relation between the child's school work and his employment in the motion picture industry. The second question was more difficult to answer. It took into consideration all the forms of reaction not covered in the first question. Of these two hundred and twenty-five cases seventy-eight were ruled out because the time of employment had been too short. A minimum of one week's absence from school was used as a standard.

Table I represents the distribution of the cases with regard to the specific results in each case.

Three cases were reported as showing definite improvement in school work. These cases were personally investigated by the writer; two of which were found to be juvenile stars in motion picture acting. Because of their popularity and earning capacity, they were given close supervision by their parents and teachers with the result that their school work showed improvement. The third was an unusually brilliant child in whatever line of work he engaged. Five children were reported as doing just



fair work, with no reference to any other type of reaction either physical or moral. Thirty-two cases were classified as doing satisfactory school work with no detrimental reaction in any form. All these children were doing good or excellent work before participating in pictures. Seventy cases showed definite lowering of the grade of work done

TABLE I

*Primary Effect upon Children of Employment in  
Motion Picture Industry*

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Improvement noted in school work        | 3         |
| 2. Fair school work                        | 5         |
| 3. Satisfactory school work                | 32        |
| 4. Detrimental effect on school work       | 70        |
| 5. Detrimental physical and nervous effect | 20        |
| 6. Detrimental moral effect                | 17        |
| 7. Unclassified                            | 78        |
| Total                                      | <hr/> 225 |

in school. Six of those which have been classified exhibiting physical and nervous reaction, and six of the number classified as showing a detrimental reaction in their character development also manifested a definite lowering of school work. The total number disclosing a reaction on school work was eighty-two or 36 per cent of the total number investigated.

The following special comments are types of personal observations by the various teachers:

"No harm except as his school work is broken."

"Has formed habit of absence, inattention."

"Much of the school work for the year has been neglected on account of absence."

"The loss in school work keeps child behind his class until he has lost interest."

Twenty cases in all were reported as manifesting definite physical and nervous reaction, including nervousness, irritability, and impaired health. The teachers' observations of the detrimental and nervous effects upon the pupils are shown in the following answers to the second question. .

"Makes her very nervous. Very erratic and lacks application after a few days of 'movies.' Will need to go back to Development School if she continues in pictures."

"She has become highly nervous, moody and disobedient by spells."

"He has become emotional and nervous."

The most difficult type of cases to judge was that in which a detrimental reaction on the character or moral status of the child had resulted. Of this type seventeen cases were reported. Only the more noticeable reactions could be determined by the teacher, and only those reactions were reported where the teacher was reasonably certain that they could be traced to the influence of working in pictures. No classification would be entirely dependable, but in order to show the types of reactions reported, the following answers will be given:

Girl, 14 years old, worked 15 days.

"It has made her unusually mature and sophisticated."

Girl, 9 years old, worked 25 days.

"She is beginning to lose interest in anything that means work, is becoming superficial, inclined to novelty and thrills."

Boy, 6 years old, exact number of days worked not known.

"His mind is so filled with foolishness and his behavior is such in school that he requires constant watching."

Girl, 8 years old, worked 28 days.

"Has made her know too much of the world for a child of her age."

Girl, 13 years old, worked 2 months.

"Changed her from a sweet little girl to one rather bold and disorderly."

Girl, 13 years old, worked 7 days.

"She has become silly, flirty, and fond of dress."

Girl, 6 years old, worked 5 days.

"It has made her self-conscious and unnatural."

The compulsory education law of the State of California requires that the minimum amount of time a child must spend in school is four hours daily. This applies to every child between the ages of eight and sixteen. The work in the classroom may be substituted by a special tutor, provided the tutor be regularly certified. When children are employed in the production of motion pictures, the minimum compulsory school attendance is provided for by a plan of special tutoring at some convenient place in the studio or at the place of location. The teacher is provided by the Department of Compulsory Education and Child Welfare of the city schools, but the instructor receives his pay from the particular company for which the children are working. The arrangement by which the teacher is provided by the Department of Compulsory Education and Child Welfare helps to sustain a professional attitude on the part of the teacher and eliminates the possibility of the teacher being employed as a result of soliciting studio managers for positions. It also gives the department a means of keeping in touch with the studio school as to location and work. With few exceptions the teacher makes a daily report on her school. This report includes the place and time at which the work was done, the name, age and address of the child, and the time actually spent in work by the teacher and the child.

The work at the studio school has several undesirable features. The lack of co-ordination with the public school is detrimental to the child's school work. The child may attend several days consecutively, or he may only attend

a day. The child is subject to call at any time while the studio school is in session. This creates a great deal of confusion and the child is kept in a constant state of nervous inattention. The place of instruction is wherever most convenient for the director in charge of the production. It is always in close proximity to the place where the picture is being filmed. An empty lot, a secluded place behind some props, an automobile, and in a few instances a special room is provided for study and class purposes.

By far the most important factor in child employment is the condition of employment. The employment of children in the motion picture industry may seem to some people to be altogether harmless; to others, to be even desirable. There are two objectionable elements in the conditions of employment which can not be remedied as they are fundamental to the industry. These two factors are the nature of the adult environment and the make-believe world in which the child is placed. In the studio there is a constant intermingling of the children employed with people whose influence is of a doubtful character. The only requirement is that the children shall be able to take a part before the camera. Some adults employed in picture production are of a shiftless nature, without regular employment. The child is placed in a position where he can listen to the conversation and observe the ways of these people. Not only does the child prematurely take on the grown-up attitude, but he assumes the attitude of those adult members of society who contribute little of that moral stamina upon which society is dependent. One of the most common replies in the questionnaire was that the child had become over-sophisticated and worldly wise. This state of mind is a blight to childhood. The attitude of a "grown-up" who is not without a regular occupation or who has no chosen vocation is likely to be careless. The child naturally takes on this careless attitude; he is not

inspired to do steady work. The most liberal person must decide that this is an unhealthy mental attitude for the growing child.

The second condition, namely, that of placing the child in a make-believe or unreal world may not have immediate results, but without doubt produces ultimate results of harm to the child. In the studio everything is make-believe. Cities are built only to be torn down. A few boards and the paint brush give the result before the camera of solid masonry. Even the attitude of individuals is make-believe; before the camera, anger, fear, love and hate are only assumed attitudes.

There is also a lack of consideration for individual characteristics that are truly worth while. The star who is envied and idolized by those working about him may have been successful only in playing the part of a fool or a social outcast.

The motion picture industry claims to be the second largest industry in the nation. At any rate it is long past the infant state and therefore needs little consideration as an infant industry. From the social welfare point of view no industry, regardless of its size or development should be given any special privilege at the expense of the childhood of the nation. The industry, not being a producer of necessities of life, can easily adjust itself so as to eliminate any possible injury the child would suffer under the present conditions. If the motion picture industry can employ child labor under conditions which are not above reproach, it would be receiving special privileges, providing other industries were not treated similarly. With the stabilizing and standardizing of this industry there should be a working toward a complete solution of this maladjustment; if this action does not proceed from those interested in the industry, then special legislation will be necessary.

Every new industry calls for a social readjustment in order to solve some social problem which may be the result of the birth and growth of the industry. These social problems do not necessarily originate because of an anti-social attitude of the promoters of the new industry, but may be the result of the very nature of the new industry or of the economic stress with which the infant industry is confronted. The problem may best be solved by the persons connected with the industry, but if the social maladjustment continues to grow in proportion to the growth in the industry special legislation becomes imperative. If the prosperity of the industry, even to a limited extent, is dependent on its social abuse, legislation is nearly always necessary in order to bring about an adjustment. The motion picture industry, an industry of recent origin, has produced an important child welfare problem. This problem is not entirely the result of the anti-social conscience of some of the leaders in motion picture production but of a combination of the impersonal attitude of modern business and the apparent need of employing children under questionable circumstances.

## PROBLEMS IN TEACHING SOCIOLOGY

By EMORY S. BOGARDUS

A NEW SOCIOLOGY is arising. It is the product of three more or less distinct lines of sociological development. One of these historical antecedents is social philosophy, which may be said to have originated with Plato and Aristotle; to have been focalized by Comte, the promulgator of positivism and the inventor of the term, sociology; to have been introduced to America through the biological evolutionism and the *laissez faire* doctrines of Spencer, whose ideas in part were vigorously championed by Sumner, and at other points were successfully challenged by Ward.

Another antecedent of the new sociology is found in the concepts, charity and philanthropy. It began with the simple and ancient methods of helping one's neighbor, and extends to and includes the modern organized and scientific organized efforts to remove the sufferings of masses of people who live on the opposite side of the globe from the givers. This type of social effort has produced what is known today as social technology or applied sociology and which is directed toward remedial and preventive methods of treating countless types of social maladjustments.

The third approach to the new sociology, the latest and perhaps the most vital, is known as the psychological or the social psychological. Behavior is the new center of study. Research has been directed to animal behavior, to the behavior of primitive peoples, and to current human behavior.

The merging process relative to sociological procedure has begun—the new sociology is the result. This new,

virile scientific study is creating a distinctive morale along the whole sociological front. Sociology is now becoming a tangible, dynamic study of group phenomena and processes. Sociology is a scientific study of groups. But the group is composed of personalities, possessing various types of attitudes and expressing themselves in various forms of behavior. Beneath these fundamental phenomena, namely, the group, personality, social attitudes, behavior, there is the group process itself. Upon observation, the group process reveals types of conflicting behavior and co-operative behavior. Conflict and co-operation are concepts of no mean significance in describing the chief group phenomenon—group progress. Conflict and co-operation between personalities, between personalities and groups, and between groups—these expressions of behavior are the main data of sociology today.

The outstanding force which is studied by the new sociology is personality, and the major societal process that sociology considers is that by which personalities are developed into fully functioning and co-operative persons as a result of being integral members of groups. The infant is born into dominant sets of family, racial, national, and religious traditions, and during his early years his attitudes and interests are largely determined by these traditions. On the other hand, he possesses an inner set of needs which gradually become definite, causing him to react in distinctive ways to the various traditions of different groups of which he is directly or indirectly a member. These give-and-take processes, often assuming a confusing social complexity, constitute the primary field of the new sociology.

The problems of teaching sociology have assumed importance within the past five years because of the rapidly increasing interest that has been engendered in social questions on the part of the common people. The World War created a demand for democracy before the masses of



mankind really learned the nature of democracy or understood normal methods of securing it. The cry, more or less blind, but nevertheless genuine, vociferous, and widespread, for industrial and social democracy on the part of oppressed groups everywhere has directed attention in a thousand new ways to the need of securing a better understanding, and of democratizing this understanding, that is, of disseminating it to all groups of people.

This dissemination, or teaching, of sociological thought as the means of securing an improvement of social conditions is being hindered in several ways. (1) Sociology itself is such a new development that it has lacked prestige. Sociologists have had difficulty in arriving at common working agreements. Some sociologists have centered their thinking upon problems rather remote from actual life, and thus have given the impression that their studies have no relation to the real needs of human beings. Splendid progress, however, is being made in gaining the good will of the public, since the development recently of sociology as the scientific study of group phenomena.

(2) Another set of hindrances is found in the post-war psychology. The World War produced a group of the new rich and large groups of the new poor. The middle class spirit has dwindled in proportion to the class spirit of the wealthy and of the poor. Wild proletarian demands have been made for a new social order; these have been countered by frantic, imperialistic demands on the part of reactionists. The sober-minded student of human behavior finds himself temporarily discounted. He is accused by the proletarians of being a lover of special privileges, and by the imperialists of being a Bolshevik. The element of time and the common sense of man ought to dissipate these false conceptions, and give the sociologist a full opportunity to help in the solving of group problems.

(3) The third obstacle in the way of disseminating so-

ciological thought is a lack of technique for teaching sociology. The proportions of this problem will be indicated in the paragraphs which follow.

The problems of teaching sociology may be divided into nine groups. (1) In no other field of teaching is the personality of the teacher more important. A social personality, expressing itself consistently in socialized behavior, is a minimum essential. (2) The training requirements of a teacher of sociology are two-fold: first, an experimental knowledge of social problems, secured through participation in public life, in social case work, or in social reform movements; and second, an ability to reason abstractly about group processes. (3) The main objectives in teaching sociology are in need of being carefully defined. The teacher should answer for himself the following questions: Why is this particular course being taught? and what are the particular objects to be accomplished by it? (4) In the next place the teacher faces the problem of determining the nature of his pupils' needs, of understanding the groups whose traditions have been paramount in developing the students' attitudes and interests, and of relating the subject of sociology to the students' planes of socialized vision. (5) The problem follows of finding the best sources of materials for the level of sociological teaching that is to be done, and of acquiring organized methods of collecting these materials. (6) The next step is that of organizing the materials in such ways that they may correlate with the status of the specific students who are being taught. If there are no adequate textbooks or syllabi, then the preparation of such may be undertaken. (7) The latest and best methods of presenting sociological materials in the classroom need to be well analyzed, and mastered. (8) The part that sociological trips or excursions may play in the teaching of sociological data is doubtless great, yet not well understood. In a short so-

ciological excursion, properly conducted, pupils may perceive the meaning of certain sociological truths that hours of classroom instruction would not make clear. (9) The teacher of sociology needs to be versatile in getting his pupils to make first-hand social studies. The laboratory of the student of sociology is about him all the time, and to the extent that he makes scientific use of it, his knowledge of sociology will increase.

Another important consideration of a different order is the fact that the teaching of sociology is becoming so widely diversified. (1) There is the original territory of sociology teaching, namely, the advanced fields of post-graduate college work. For many years courses in social philosophy and general sociology have been offered advanced classes. Being specialized and conducted for advanced students there has been little uniformity regarding methods among different instructors.

(2) In recent years the number of specialized undergraduate college courses in sociology, such as courses dealing with poverty, delinquency, the family, eugenics, has increased with amazing rapidity. Each requires a specific set of materials and a special form of organization. The college is rare indeed which has no courses in sociology—some offering ten, or twenty, or more. The organization of departments of sociology, however, is taking place more slowly. This fact does not reflect unfavorably upon sociology but simply shows the conservatism of the departments in which sociology courses arise.

(3) The teaching of the introductory course in sociology, generally known as Sociology I, in colleges and educational institutions of similar rank, presents problems of unusual difficulty. (a) Some teachers give the introductory course an anthropological center. (b) Others treat it as social economics, and begin with the economic background. (c) Sometimes the course is made one in social problems,

appealing largely to the pupils' interest in pathology. (d) Again, a basic social institution, such as the family, is given the central position. (e) A synthetic view of the leading social forces, institutions, and problems is stressed in other introductory courses, on the ground that such a delineation will enable the student to exercise his own judgment more wisely in selecting additional social studies. (f) A recent tendency is to present the introductory course as a study of human groups, beginning with a consideration of the groups of which the students are members, and then proceeding to an analysis of group processes.

(4) The high school is slowly being recognized as a field for teaching sociology. The presence of other studies in an already crowded curriculum has prevented the introduction of sociology courses, but sooner or later the need of high school students, the majority of whom do not go on to college, for sociology courses will be recognized and met.

(5) Social studies are being introduced in the grades, especially in the upper grades. The need for social studies in the lower grades is also great, and the teaching of them in these grades is no more difficult than the teaching of elementary mathematics or any other subject. The presentation of social ideas and group responsibility, normally begun in the home during the first year of the child's life, needs to be furthered by the school when it is entered by the child at the age of five or six years.

There are therefore nine chief problems in teaching sociology; each changes in nature according to the level of student development which is involved. These problems challenge the best thought of sociology teachers, who by their co-operative effort may solve each—to the great gain of sociology, of themselves, of youth, and of future generations.

# A STUDY OF DELINQUENCY AMONG SCHOOL GIRLS

By ROSALIE BUNKER FOWLER

*Graduate Student, University of Southern California.*

DELINQUENCY is defined in the Juvenile Court Law of California as "a violation of a law or ordinance." It is evident to those who deal with school girls in the City of Los Angeles that law-breaking among them is a growing problem.

The writer, employed as an attendance officer in the Department of Compulsory Education and Child Welfare of the Los Angeles City Schools, has handled about 1500 girls' cases. In this study she presents twenty cases that may be considered as representative of the wilful offenders which constitute about one-fifth of the entire group.

The purpose of the study is to present these cases with the facts concerning ages, mental and physical condition, parentage, environment, education, and diversions; and to follow up the study of cases with an analysis of the causes of delinquency. These materials may be used in elementary social case work classes; students may receive valuable training in prescribing "treatment" in each case. The student and the general reader should consider each case with this question in mind: What would I do in order to bring about a solution of the problem that is presented, if I were the attendance officer?

*Case I.* Age 15; charge, truancy. Low average mentality. Physical condition poor, very nervous and excitable. When not yet 13 years of age, nursed tubercular mother through her last illness.

Weak willed, deceitful, bitter toward authority but responds to kindness. Associates are men and boys who come to house in father's absence, and girls whom she will not tell about. Diversions are automobile rides and attendance at cheap motion picture shows where she boasts that she "picks up" men.

Dislikes school and teachers. Home is a small rear cottage which the owner shares with her father and her younger sister; light and ventilation are poor and only the bare necessities of life are found. Father is high-tempered, irritable, ignorant, and interested in daughter only from the standpoint of the work she can do. Girl at mercy of unscrupulous associates and shows indications of immoral conduct.

*Case II.* Age, 14; charge, truancy. Came from the East with mother, following an evangelist who brought this girl's older sister with him as an assistant. Girl highly nervous, excitable, and fanatical. Whole family antagonistic to government, schools, and everything of "this world." Schooling to 6th grade only. Stubbornly refuses to attend school.

Home is bare and unattractive; mother, a religious fanatic and anarchistic. Girl is immoral and diseased. When detained at Juvenile Hall the girl refused treatment, saying that God would punish her if she allowed herself to be treated.

*Case III.* Age, 14; charge, truancy. Low average intelligence. Girl appears well but she is a victim of contagious diseases. Mother is a nervous wreck. Sanitary conditions in the home are poor. Girl is weak willed, easily lead, has little initiative, but is superior in mental type to mother. Diversions are trips to the beaches, motion picture shows, and staying all night at other girls' houses.

Goes to school only when compelled. Home is crowded, cluttered, and dirty. Parents living together, but not harmoniously. Mother is unreasonable in dealing with the daughter and fosters the wrong attitude in the girl by saying to her, "a 14 year old girl is capable of taking care of herself."

*Case IV.* Age, 15; charge, truancy and incorrigibility. Low average mentality; good disposition but weak willed; physical condition fair. Home is comfortable and attractive but parents quarrel a great deal and hence the daughter ran away with an older girl to a small town near by. Mother recovered the daughter. Father deserted and while mother is away at work the girl plays truant.

Mother boards another man whom she tells the girl she intends to marry. Girl goes to live with her father in a barn-like place, opposite in type to the attractive home in which she first lived. Girl corresponds with sailors and spends much time at beaches. Father cannot properly safeguard the girl because he is away all day.

*Case V.* Age, 15; charge, truancy and incorrigibility. Dull mentality. Girl is undoubtedly immoral. Mother probably a middle grade moron, very ignorant, antagonistic, deceitful, and immoral. Mother works in a laundry which reports her as being extremely incompetent, profane, and vulgar; she often does not come home until late in the evening and rarely knows where her daughter is to be found. Father living, but divorced. Girl's step-father has deserted. Her mother and father were forced to marry before this child was born.

*Case VI.* Age, 15; charge, truancy. Average intelligence, but has no ambition. Has played truant, worked illegally, pretended illness, tried her utmost to avoid school, and

finally appeared at school with plucked eyebrows and painted face. Her associates are boys and girls of her own type who are out for "a good time." Home is a poor apartment in a rear building, cluttered, crowded, and dirty. Girl is movie-struck. Mother is a sane appearing woman who wishes to do right and to have the girl live properly, but she works every day and is unable to supervise her headstrong daughter.

*Case VII.* Age, 14; charge, truancy and immorality. Parents are immigrants. Girl is intelligent, has good disposition which is in danger of being spoiled by the cross currents of authority in the home. The mother is employed. The grandmother scolds when the girl has any friends at the house. Girl resents aunt's attempt to control her. Mother will not allow father to control her. Girl attended cheap shows and decided to run away with an older girl who took her with sailors into various hotels.

*Case VIII.* Age, 15; charge, truancy and incorrigibility. Intelligent, but will not, or cannot, apply herself to her studies. Very nervous, irritable, stubborn, vascillating, and disobedient. Is continually stirring up trouble at school and never willing to take the responsibility for what she does. Was finally suspended from school after teachers had exhausted every means of reaching her. Mother is a refined, intelligent woman—a widow who is dependent upon her wages at a factory in order to take care of the children. After being re-admitted to school, the girl did fairly good work, but after few weeks she gave her time to doubtful companions. She will not study and is extremely troublesome.

*(To be concluded in the next issue)*



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## EDITORIAL NOTES

Editorial Notes is a new feature of the Journal. The editors wish to invite the friends of the Journal to send suggestions concerning ways in which this publication may be made more useful. It is hoped also that each reader will assume initiative in extending the influence of the Journal.

Our readers including librarians are asked to note that the first five volumes of the publications of the Sociological Society appeared in the form of Monographs and News Notes. At the beginning of the sixth year of the publishing history of the Sociological Society, in October, 1921, these publications were merged under the title of the *Journal of Applied Sociology*. The first issues of the *Journal*, therefore, represent the beginning of the sixth volume of the publications of the Sociological Society and hence are designated as Volume vi.

The article by Dr. George Elliott Howard on the subject of marriage and divorce represents a field of sociological study and research in which Dr. Howard is the most eminent authority in the world today. He was the first American writer to point out that family instability is not due primarily to poor divorce laws; he urged that attention be directed to securing better marriages and to changing the conditions which lead to poor marriages. In recent years he has had the satisfaction of seeing the civilized world turn toward the point of view which he was the first to discover.

## News Notes

Dr. M. Anesaki of the Tokyo Imperial University, who spoke in Los Angeles on September 29 and 30, discussed the social problems which have arisen in Japan as a result of modern industry, namely, the demand of the workers for a voice in the management of industry, of the women for the right of suffrage, and of the younger classes for democracy, a term which is often interpreted to mean liberty, sometimes unregulated liberty.

The address by G. Bromley Oxnam, which was delivered before the members of the Sociological Society on October 5 at the University of Southern California and heard by over 300 sociological students, was based on the speaker's first-hand investigation of social conditions in England and on the Continent during the past summer. It was an unusually forceful and clear address; it presented effectively the tragedy and futility of war, the need for the revision of the Versailles' Treaty, and the probability that labor will come into control in England within ten years.

"Americanization Work in California" was the subject of the address given by Miss Ethel Richardson, assistant superintendent of instruction of California, at the November meeting of the Southern California Sociological Society held in Bovard Administration Building, Los Angeles. Miss Richardson discussed night classes, home teachers, the Americanization teacher in industry, and described the "migratory school" idea which is being put into practice in California. In the fall the migratory school is conducted for the children employed first in the fruit, and then in the walnut groves; in the winter, first in the cotton, and then in the citrus belts; in the spring, first in the asparagus, and then in the cherry districts; and in the summer, in the peas and the fruit.

Mrs. E. K. Foster and Carrie M. Burlingame of the Juvenile Protective Association of Los Angeles have published an article in the July issue of the *Journal of Delinquency* on children in institutions in Los Angeles. The authors show that many so-called orphanages are giving primary attention to the children of broken homes rather than to orphans. If the institutional directors would

become case workers a part of their time, they could return to relatives or parents a considerable proportion of the children in orphanages, and thus be instrumental in re-establishing homes. The orphanage is after all a place for the children of widowed mothers or fathers, and not for children of broken homes.

The spirit of unrest has penetrated to all corners of the world. It has even touched the easy-going pleasure-loving people of Burma. A letter to one of the editors from Professor Randolph L. Howard of Judson College, Rangoon, Burma, gives the following information. "These are unsettled days in this end of the world. Burma sent a deputation to England to protest against the fact that Burma was not given equal power of self-government along with the other provinces of India. At the moment when it seemed that this plea would be granted, the radicals got into control of the Burmese press, called a mass meeting and asked for immediate complete home rule. How it will all work out now I cannot say, unless by means of ostracising people by the social boycott with which they have been able to throttle moderate opinion." The letter also tells of a student boycott. On the day that the act went into effect by which the new University of Burma was organized, all the students in the two colleges of the provinces and in most of the high schools went out on a boycott of the new university, because it had set higher standards than the University of Calcutta to which the educational system of Burma has heretofore been related. Less than one-half of the students have returned, so the educational situation is in a state of uncertainty.

W. C. S.

The social science teachers in the high schools of Southern California met in Pasadena for an all-day conference October 29. One of the main addresses was given by R. L. Ashley, head of the social science department of the Pasadena High School and well known author of a series of correlated and original books on history and civilization, who spoke on the subjective bases of a reorganized social science course. He urged that teachers study their pupils more, rather than specialize on teaching certain subjects, and endeavor to learn how young people may acquire a group consciousness and function well in group relationships.

## Book Notes

### AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY.

By ROBERT E. PARK and ERNEST W. BURGESS, of the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921, 1040 pages, \$4.50.

In many respects this is a unique introduction to sociology. The title itself emphasizes the scientific value of the book, and serves at the same time as a commentary on its methodology.

The volume contains fourteen chapters. The first gives a definition of the sense in which the term sociology is used, involving references to the relation of sociology to the other sciences, logically and historically. The remaining chapters comprise the leading concepts of sociology. The more important of these are doubtless, "conflict, accommodation, assimilation, social control," and "collective behavior." In the chapter on control occurs this statement indicative of the point of view of the treatise, "Social control and the mutual subordination of individual members to the community have their origin in conflict, assume definite organized forms in the process of accommodation, and are consolidated and fixed in assimilation. Through the medium of these processes a community assumes the form of a society." These sentences are correlative to the declaration contained in the first chapter that men do not act together because they act alike but because they have a common purpose. Thus the essence of human society is "control," and the problem of the sociologist is to explain the process of social control.

Each of the last thirteen chapters is divided into four parts: introduction, materials, investigation, and bibliography, to which are added a list of topics and questions for classroom use. In the "introduction" the authors have been careful to define the sense in which the concepts by which the chapters are entitled have been employed. These formulations are among the more valuable features of the book and place it in the list of systematic treatises on the subject rather than among the source books on sociology merely. But the materials, also, are worthy of special mention, having been selected with great care from a wide field of research, and involving only primary sources.

The standpoint of the book as a whole is psychological, recalling the now celebrated Source Book for Social Origins by W. I. Thomas, to whom the authors express indebtedness for the suggestion of the plan which they have followed. C.E.R.

THE PLAY MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By CLARENCE E. RAINWATER, PH.D., University of Southern California, University of Chicago Press, 1921, 350 pages, \$2.75.

It is fitting that a scholar who has been a pioneer in and an inseparable part of the play movement in the United States during the years of its greatest development should undertake to interpret the meaning of this significant social phenomenon. Dr. Rainwater has supplemented his wide and varied experience as a director of play activities by teaching the subject in its different aspects during the past three years at the University of Southern California, thus fitting him to analyze the play movement both concretely and abstractly.

After presenting an interpretation of the basic terms and describing the origin of play as a societal phenomenon, the author distinguishes between what he calls the seven main stages of the play movement, namely, the sand garden stage, the model playground stage, the small park stage, the recreation center stage, the civic art and welfare stage, the neighborhood organization stage, and the community service stage. This discussion is followed by an equally valuable analysis of the transitions and trends of the play movement.

The practical nature of the volume is indicated by the presence of many pages of teaching materials, such as weekly schedules, yearly calendars, and merit systems. Several excellent views are included. The book is comprehensive, scholarly, and lucid. It is valuable as a text for classes, as a guide to directors of play, and for the purposes of the general reader. E. S. B.

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCE, their Relief and Prevention. By JOHN LEWIS GILLIN, PH.D. Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin. The Century Company, 1921, 707 pages, \$4.25.

Students and teachers of applied sociology will welcome this most recent volume on what is perhaps the oldest and most persistent of modern social problems. Its breadth of view and socio-economic assumptions are indicated by the following statement from the in-

roduction: "Poverty and dependency did not appear as social problems until tribal society began to give place to civil society.\* Poverty and dependency, however, are not so much 'costs of progress' as 'costs' of the failure of social invention and social arrangements to keep pace with the exploitation of Nature, with economic organization, and with the development of individual initiative."

The contents of the book are divided into five parts: Introductory; the causes and conditions of poverty and dependency; the historic methods of treatment; the extent and characteristics of the respective types of dependency; and the agencies and measures for the prevention of poverty and dependency. Among these proposals are "socialized neighborliness, socialized education, socialized recreation, socialized religion, and socialized property."

In reading the book one is impressed by its wholesomeness, its humanitarian impulse, its scientific candor, and its freedom from advocacy of unilateral measures for relief or prevention. The value of the volume is increased by a serviceable index and brief lists of topics for special study; while the references are to be found in the footnotes in place of a general bibliography. It is without a rival as a text-book on the problems of poverty, dependency and pauperism.

C. E. R.

**SOCIOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF OBJECTIVES IN EDUCATION.** By DAVID SNEDDEN, Columbia University. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1921, 319 pages, \$2.50.

This volume consists of fifteen essays dealing mainly with the objectives in the education process. The first essay discusses the province and possibilities of sociology in the field of education, and contains Dr. Snedden's most important contribution to the cause of education. That sociology must serve as a determiner of aims in all fields of education is made the main theme of the book. The recognition of this important truth denotes that the sociologists must become the authorities who are to be consulted in regard to the final objectives in our new education just as the psychologists have been authorized to determine educability, and the best methods for the attainment of predetermined goals. Education as a social process must of necessity look to those who have made an intensive and scientific study of social processes, if it is to realize any methods of socialization. How to induce the individual to strive to win, not against, but with his fellows, thus becomes a primary objective.

The author clearly states the constant need and revaluation of

those studies and methods which will result in the finer and truer appreciation of life itself; in the ability to execute and to achieve for mankind. He lays especial emphasis on the great question of the moral training needed for the development and maintenance of a twentieth century democracy. The higher social well-being of the individual and society presents an acute problem, the solution of which is squarely before both educator and sociologist. Dr. Snedden's book offers a new method of research and advancement in the field of educational sociology

M. J. V.

**A STAKE IN THE LAND**, By PETER A. SPEEK. Harper and Bros., 1921, 266 pages, \$2.50.

The author, who is in charge of the Slavic section, Library of Congress, has visited the various sections of the United States in preparation for writing the book, giving particular attention to immigrants who are living or trying to live under rural conditions. His fundamental principle is that if we would Americanize the immigrant, we must seek him out in his daily economic life and see that the influences under which he labors will develop in him a constructive attitude toward his new home.

The types of land agents with whom immigrants are obliged to deal are: (1) land sharks, (2) the ordinary type of real estate agents, (3) realtors, (4) private land colonization companies, and (5) public land colonization bodies. California is cited as the only state in our country in which a public land colonization plan is working successfully, although on a small scale.

The author deals with the Americanization of rural immigrants through the schools, churches, and community organizations; he urges more community team work. He has written a helpful presentation of the problems of the immigrants who are trying to acquire a stake in the land.

E. S. B.

**THE ACQUISITIVE SOCIETY**. By R. H. TAWNEY, fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921, 188 pages, \$1.50.

In this book an acquisitive society is compared with a functional society. In the former the enjoyment of property and the direction of industry are considered popularly as rights, regardless of functions. In an acquisitive society when investing in the stocks and bonds

of a corporation, investors ask first, what dividends are paid; in a functional society they ask first, what service does the corporation perform. In the former, as high dividends and as low wages as possible are paid; in the latter, the material equipment, capital, is secured as low as possible, and the workers are paid as much as possible.

Mr. Tawney favors nationalization of land, not for purposes of permanent state ownership, but to sell it to small holders. The author is clear-cut, forceful, stimulating, and dignified; he is representative of the best thought of the labor leaders in England.

E. S. B.

CHILD WELFARE, from the Social Point of View. By NORA MILNES, B. Sc., director of the Edinburgh School of Social Study. Dutton and Company, 1921, 243 pages.

In this treatise the social aspects of child welfare are considered from the standpoint of applied economics. The influence of the economic position of the father and of the mother is the main theme. Poverty is made the chief cause of the problem that gives rise to the child welfare movement. In the chapter on housing, the physical and moral defects of children, resulting from underhousing, are presented. The author holds that since adequate housing is so essential to sound family and national life it should not be carried on for profit. A combination of voluntary and State action is urged in dealing with social problems. As far as the book goes, it is an important contribution to the child welfare movement.

E. S. B.

IMMIGRANT HEALTH AND THE COMMUNITY. By MICHAEL M. DAVIS, JR. Harper and Brothers, 1921, 482 pages, \$2.50.

The book shows how the health conditions and practices of immigrants are distinctly lower than those of many Americans. It indicates how Old World traditions prevent the immigrant from co-operating readily with the public health authorities; and how the trained nurse, the hospital, the clinic, and other forms of organized health service are foreign to the immigrant's set of traditions. The author and his associates have made clear the health phases of a true Americanization procedure, and have given practical suggestions for meeting the correlative problems.

E. S. B.



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## THE SOCIALIZED CLASS-ROOM

AN EXPERIMENT IN GROUP SELF-EDUCATION

F. STUART CHAPIN

*Professor of Sociology, Smith College*

This is a sort of a "case history," as a social worker would say; but it is a case history of an experience in teaching. The writer was confronted with the problem of conducting a course in Methods of Social Research, which had been elected by 48 seniors, the great majority of whom were doing major work in the Department of Economics and Sociology, and in every case these students had had two years of training in social science. The large size of the class precluded the possibility of individual attention which would ordinarily be the essential feature of instruction in a course of this type. After some thought and study of the situation, it was decided to attempt as an experiment a plan of class self-organization.<sup>1</sup>

The course in Methods of Social Research was offered in the fall semester of 1920 as a three-hour elective course. The first four weeks were spent in discussion and in in-

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<sup>1</sup>In working out the details of this experiment, the experience of Professor Colin Scott of Mt. Holyoke College was found to be most helpful. Professor Scott has described his extensive experience in experimenting with class self-organization plans in his various writings.

formal lecture presentation of the subject. Then an examination was held. A list was drawn up composed of the ten best students as rated on the basis of grades attained in this examination. From this eligible list the class was requested to nominate students for such positions as class chairman, secretary, and treasurer. It was explained to the students at this time that the instructor desired thenceforward to put as much responsibility as possible for the conduct of the work of the class upon the shoulders of the students themselves. The class then elected by ballot the officers nominated. It should be noted that the judgment of the class in selecting their leaders was on the whole good; but of course the limit placed upon choice by the device of an eligible list served as a check to insure the selection of the best pupils to positions of leadership. The judgment of the class was relied upon to select individuals personally agreeable to the class as leaders, since this was a selection which the instructor could hardly make with as great accuracy as the students themselves.

The next step was the selection for study and investigation. The class was requested to suggest topics for study. Forty-eight suggestions were obtained in this way. These were classified roughly into seven different groups. The instructor then requested the students whose suggestions fell into a natural group to meet together and discuss their various suggestions with a view to reaching an agreement upon some one topic mutually satisfactory to all concerned. This particular session of the class was held in a large lecture hall, with a capacity of several hundred students. It was thus possible for each of the several groups to move off into a section of the room by itself and there discuss its projects. Out of these group discussions certain criteria for the selection of topics for study and investigation were developed, such as:

- (1) The availability of the material,
- (2) does the problem exist in Northampton or vicinity?
- (3) the period of time necessary to complete such a study,
- (4) the expense of carrying on investigation,
- (5) whether anything else had been done in the field before,
- (6) the technical skill required in conducting such an investigation,
- (7) availability of workers,
- (8) the question whether college girls could conduct such a study,
- (9) and, finally, the value of the investigation in relation to the course.

The following seven topics were agreed upon as satisfying the criteria suggested:

- (1) A study of the social agencies of Northampton.
- (2) A study of several selected factories with reference to their organization, pension policies, and welfare work.
- (3) A study of housing in a congested section of the city.
- (4) Infant mortality in the county.
- (5) Juvenile delinquency in the county.
- (6) Naturalization of the foreign born.
- (7) Retarded children in the schools.

Each group then organized for the study and investigation of its special topic. The first step was to elect group chairmen; the second was to survey the field very briefly; and the third to assign to each member of the group a particular part of the work. This was all done by the students themselves.

After some experimentation with different plans and some inevitable lost motion, the class finally decided that the best plan for conducting the work through the week was as follows: a lecture on Monday by the instructor; on Tuesdays, discussion by groups of their respective topics, the instructor to visit the groups and assist in explaining

difficulties and in proposing practicable methods; on Wednesdays, a report to the entire class by each group chairman summarizing the work of the group during the preceding week. This plan made it possible for each student in the large class to find her level and also to co-operate in the furtherance of the main project. Moreover the entire class was kept informed as to the progress of its various divisions. Every student was subjected to the scrutiny of the instructor as well as subjected to the group judgment of her fellows. There was considerable discussion and as little lecturing as possible, since the idea was to "learn by doing" rather than to soak up information fed by spoonfuls at usual lecture sessions.

The instructor further required each student to report to him Monday upon the progress that she had made in her individual study. This was a written report following a systematic form and prepared in such a fashion as to be readily filed.

Written examinations were for the most part conducted on the co-operative marking basis, which Professor Colin Scott has applied with success in his classes. That is to say, examinations were usually read and graded by the students themselves. For example, the Housing Committee sat together in one section of the large class room and at the end of the examination the papers were passed around so that each student read all the other papers and ranked them according to merit. These individual judgments are passed on to the instructor on a standard form, and provided him with group judgment which in each case was an interesting supplement to the grade which he himself gave. The value of this experience was not so much in aiding the instructor as in giving the students an opportunity to exercise their critical judgment and to gain some practice in the habit of methodical skepticism.

It may be worth while to consider briefly the advantages

of the scheme for the instructor and for the student. The chief advantage to the instructor is that a large class, which is almost unmanageable for ordinary educational purposes, is by this plan divided up into manageable units, each intent upon a topic of interest to its members as a group. Time is thus economized by addressing comments and criticisms of a general nature to groups (there were seven in this class) rather than having to address them always to individuals (there were 48 in this case). The *real* individual difficulties, in contrast to the *imagined* difficulties, come to a head and are crystallized in discussions that take place among the students in the subcommittees of the class and are then passed on to the whole group for solution, and eventually, as circumstances may require, to the instructor. This method has a certain value in reaching the shy or diffident student who is usually abashed before a large group but learns to awaken and develop in a small sub-group. In so far as the judgment of the students in the selection of their group and class chairmen as leaders proves to be sound, this plan of class organization enables the instructor to give special attention to the unusual student in the consultations that are necessarily held with the different class leaders.

The advantages of the plan of class self-organization to the students are numerous. It establishes conditions that favor self-expression, self-direction, and growth in self-reliance through discussion and practical experience. It helps to train students in the habit of forming critical judgments and in the habit of group discussion. It convinces the student of the value of systematic and methodical procedure in study and research, since the students are themselves required to draw up and criticize the report forms and the schedules which they use. It helps to develop the idea of responsible research, since continual reporting to one's class leaders, as well as to the in-

structor, is required. It trains in the categories and experience of co-operative organization. Each student's particular assignment is but part of a large project all parts of which are related to a general plan which is worked out by the whole class itself. It enlightens students on the important matter of the inter-relations of social problems, since the activities of different groups overlap and a duplication of work must be avoided by conference and co-operation. This last point was also given the practical test since each group investigation was conducted in co-operation with a local agency and in several cases the material gathered has been used in the furtherance of some practical end. For example, the material gathered by the group surveying the social agencies of the community was turned over to the Chamber of Commerce for use in planning for a Charity Chest. The housing study was conducted with the authorization of the City Planning Board and the material was turned over to this agency. The study of retardation supplied material which was referred to the School Department for use in making arrangements for special classes for defective children. The infant mortality and the juvenile delinquent studies were carried on with the co-operation of local child helping agencies.

Perhaps more valuable than an attempt to display the advantages of the scheme is a critical estimate of its merits and demerits. The instructor desired to have from the student an expression of unbiased opinion on the general experiment and therefore at the close of the semester asked the students to write individual, anonymous statements in reply to these questions:

1. Which do you prefer, and why, the present plan of class self-organization, or the usual formal lecture and quiz system of conducting the course?



2. Do you feel that you have wasted time under the present plan, which might have been put to better advantage by systematic lectures and quiz work?
3. Have you gained anything worth while from being so much on your own responsibility, or has this gain been offset by the time you have wasted?

It should perhaps be noted before presenting to the reader the estimates which the students placed upon the course that there is always the danger in asking a class such questions of getting back as answers what the teacher himself has unconsciously suggested in his eagerness to present the advantages of a scheme in which he is interested. The present writer tried to avoid this pitfall and believes that the testimony which follows is to a very large extent a genuine expression of students' opinion and not an automatic answer to leading questions. Considering, now, the first question asked, a total of 27 students testified that they preferred the present plan of class self-organization to the traditional method of conducting a course, while 17 testified that they preferred the usual method. Let us examine for a moment certain representative statements in favor of the plan of class self-organization.

4. In such a course as this, it seems as though the plan of class self-organization would be preferable if it would be possible for each section of the class to have more attention from the instructor, as the group which I happened to know most about was extremely unfortunate in its choice of a chairman and, as a result, was very poorly organized. No one in the group had the self-assertion to go on over the head of the chairman, and as a result the work of the group was confused and in fact almost negative in quantity until we went off on special problems.

8. I prefer the present plan of class self-organization because it makes each student feel more responsible for her work and for the total results that are achieved by the class as a whole. If there is active participation of each member in determining the policies of the different groups, as well as in carrying out the actual work,

it is certainly more valuable than accepting the methods of the instructor without examining them. There is a greater emphasis on co-operation in study and actual (research) work in this way than by recitations and lectures. There are, nevertheless, some serious difficulties with the plan, as it exists now, which may be solved later as it works out.

12. I prefer the present plan of class self-organization because I have found it to be the one course in college where you really get an idea of how to handle a problem. I think the lecture and quiz system is poor in that it cripples your capabilities of knowing how to really do something and get something for yourself. I do not, however, think that the majority of college girls are up to getting as much out of a course like this, because they do not want to. We all try to get out of as much work as possible, and it is rather easy to do when it rests in our hands.

21. I prefer the present plan of class self-organization because it gives a good amount of individual freedom as regards our work. We are able to do the work whenever it is the best time. I mean that it is not like the lecture and quiz system, where on a certain day for a certain class, we must know certain things. I think the present plan makes us feel much more responsible. We feel the work is up to us. Under the other plan, I think we leave the responsibility of all the work—except memorizing the notes for a quiz or examination—to the instructor.

39. I prefer the present plan of class self-organization to the usual plan of lecture and quiz system. The present method challenges the use of our initiative, which, especially in the case of those of us in whom it is dormant, the usual method of lecture and quiz allows to remain dormant and undisturbed. The present method is especially adapted to a course in research because of its nature and because of the fact that the class is composed on the whole of relatively mature students who should be put more or less on their own resources.

46. The present plan of class self-organization gives much better and more practical knowledge on how to approach a problem of research than a much longer course could possibly give when only theory and a few definite cases of applied theory are presented through lectures and books. The personnel of the class determines the success of such a system, however, and I think that this class with only one or two exceptions seems to be applying itself and not trying to get by with as little work as possible. But ordinarily I think the average college group is not serious-minded enough to put a great deal into a course like this, for it is certainly more true of this course than any I have ever had that you get nothing more from it than you put into it.

Let us now examine a few representative statements of those who preferred the traditional lecture and quiz system.

7. I prefer the usual formal and quiz system. My objection to this course has been a lack of leadership and direction. This supervision was not so much needed in individual work, for I have appreciated the value of working my subject out independently, but I do think it would have been better if a more experienced person than the group chairman had mapped out the work in each investigation. My hope for the course was that I would work under an experienced worker just as in the real field of social work, the work is planned under the leadership of the investigation. The group chairman had her own work to do and did not have even the time to map out the work.

19. I prefer the usual formal lecture and quiz system because I think the class is too large for the present plan. The instructor cannot possibly get around to all the groups each day, and I feel that in this plan of work which can be so dry and uninteresting if you do not put yourself in it, that you need all the inspiration you can get from one who is interested in it.

24. I prefer the usual formal lecture and quiz system, as then a definite course is mapped out which can be followed, whereas now we all make hazy attempts to do something, just what that something is no one seems to know definitely. In making attempts entirely on our own initiative, I have not known just where to begin or what to do, and so have wasted a great deal of time which might otherwise have been very profitably used.

42. I think that in a class of this sort the lecture and quiz system would be inadequate for those of us who expect to do social work without further training. This course is our only opportunity to do any practical work. It has shown me how difficult it is to apply knowledge which one knows perfectly well. I think some of the groups have been rather unfortunate in having chairmen who lacked organizing ability. I should like to have several courses conducted in this way before choosing between this and the old system.

Considering now the answers to the second question 36 testify that they had wasted time under the class self-organization plan and 6 testified that they had not wasted time as a class, or as individuals. Let us consider some typical answers of those who felt that time was wasted.

12. I think as a class we have wasted time, because I do not think that as a whole we have taken the right responsibility. Each one has left it to her neighbor. I think the trouble is we don't know how to go about learning and working out something for ourselves. On the whole we would probably have learned more by lectures and quizzes because we know how to work that way. But, as I have said before, the one thing that this college needs is a system of education where you learn how to do something for yourself. Personally I do not feel that my time has been wasted, nor do I think a good many others time has been wasted, because from the course at least we have learned something which we have not learned in others, and that is that we are not capable of doing and learning things for our own use but have to have knowledge poured into us.

24. I feel I have wasted time as I have not known just what I was supposed to do or how to do it. By systematic lectures and quizzes the work is brought up weekly to a definite place, but under this system I have always felt that there is always something very important I have not done.

28. Yes, in a way, I feel that I might have used part of the time to better advantage, if we had conducted the class in the usual manner. . . . However, I firmly believe that doing this field work is the best piece of outside work we could have done. I feel particularly that I have learned a great deal by rubbing up against the officials of Northampton and I think it the best thing possible to learn to handle people and how to get information from them and what mistakes are liable to arise when there is no fear of losing your job if you do make a mistake.

It is worth considering a few answers of those who felt as individuals and as a class that time was not wasted under the plan.

35. No, I do not feel that I have wasted my time. I have found even more to do than in most of my other courses. In working things out myself I have made mistakes and have had to do the work over but I feel this has been far from a waste of time. Rather they are lessons less quickly to be forgotten than had I merely read rules from a book.

39. I think that we have wasted time under the present system, if we are to measure the value of the course by what we have crammed into our heads. I should rather say we have gained time, in so far as we have gained a few working principles that will be of use to us, rather than a whole lot of stuff that we are bound to lose because we have not made it a part of our mental make-up gradually by use.

46. The seeming waste of time has been of great advantage in impressing us with the fact that the work after you leave college is not so definitely planned that each person will have a nice, smooth groove to run in, as more systematic courses make one feel, but instead we will have to investigate and do a great many things which will not directly promote our work.

Twenty-two students testified that the time wasted had been offset by the gain in experience and in self-reliance, and four testified that the time wasted had not been so offset. Let us consider a few significant statements of those who felt that they had gained in spite of the waste.

12. As I stated above, the one thing I have gained is the realization that we need more of this sort of education because we do not know how to get anything out of a course unless it is drummed into us. The reason we hear any adverse criticism to a course of this type is because we do not any of us want to do the work ourselves but want it all done up in packages for us to learn.

34. Yes, the sense of being able to do things for myself and some increased self-confidence, but I think the greatest gain is a feeling of interest that some of the work of the class depends upon one and that one is not responsible merely to herself but to the class. The class does not seem so much the property of the professor conducting it as classes ordinarily do.

39. By being on our own resources I think we have gained some practical knowledge that no amount of time wasted can offset. We have not gained technique and facts so much as we have gained an appreciation of the value and the difficulties that lie in our way in work of this kind. I think it has made us more resourceful.

It may be worth while before concluding the examination of this testimony to cite a few cases of those who felt that the time wasted had not been offset by any gain.

31. Since I have been on my own resources before but had a foundation with which to be resourceful, I feel that the time wasted has been greater than the knowledge and responsibility gained.

36. I feel that the practice in interviewing which I have gained has been offset by the time I have wasted.

37. I have gained some self-assurance and experience from being on my own resources but I think it has been offset by the time wasted.

The reader should draw his own conclusions from this assemblage of testimony. In this connection it should be said that the instructor has made no effort to identify the authors of these different statements. They were handed in anonymously and with that understanding. The instructor has not therefore attempted to discover any correlation between adverse opinions and poor students, and favorable opinions and good students. The numbers which appear before the statements quoted will help the reader in piecing together the full statement on the three questions of any single student. For example, the answers of any one student have the same number, thus 12 is quoted in answer to questions 1, 2, and 3.

It is quite evident from the experience of the instructor of this course, as well as from the testimony of many of the class that students are so habituated to the traditional method of having work planned out for them and having much of their thinking also done for them, that they cannot adjust themselves to the opportunities of a plan in which they assume responsibility.

The great bulk of students who enter our colleges have been brought up under a system of instruction in which little emphasis has been placed upon self-reliance and self-discipline. Consequently when they are faced with the dilemma of choosing between different courses of action and laying out and criticising their own work they are often nonplussed. This consideration should enter into any estimate of the success or failure of the plan of class self-organization such as has been described.

The instructor believes that this method of group self-education is applicable only to a somewhat homogenous group of students with a fund of more or less systematized information upon which to begin work. It also seems evi-

dent that the method is applicable only in courses which deal primarily with method rather than with mere information. Professor Scott would probably not agree with this point since he maintains that he has had success with the plan in many different types of courses.

Economics writers have called attention to the fact that we live in an acquisitive society. The great emphasis in the present age is the acquisition of wealth. There is some reason to believe that the exaggeration of man's acquisitive instinct has been carried over into education also. There is too much emphasis upon the plain acquisition of learning and the accumulation of mere information. Just as in modern industry we need less stress upon the acquisitive instinct and more upon the creative impulse, so in education we need a similar emphasis. To give fuller scope to the creative impulse, we need free experimentation in teaching.

Students should be expected to assume responsibility for the improvement of the courses they are studying. They should be taught to face the proposition that existing standards of instruction are not final, but are always in the process of being worked out. In these ways independence in the student body may be encouraged but even in this there lies a danger which Dewey has well put: "From a social standpoint dependence denotes a power rather than a weakness. It involves interdependence. There is always the danger that increasing personal independence will decrease the social capacity of the individual. In making him more self-reliant, it makes him more self-sufficient. It may lead to aloofness and indifference. It often makes an individual so insensitive in his relation to others as to develop an illusion of being really able to stand and act alone, an unnamed form of insanity which is responsible for a large part of the remedial suffering of the world."

# DELINQUENCY AMONG SCHOOL GIRLS

## II

ROSALIE BUNKER FOWLER

*Graduate student, University of Southern California*

In a preceding article the writer presented a brief summary of eight cases of delinquency among school girls; these cases were selected from 300 cases of delinquency, which comprised a portion of the 1500 cases of truancy that have been handled by the writer as an attendance officer in the public schools of Los Angeles. A summary of seven more cases will be presented here, together with an analysis of the causes of delinquency among the entire 300 girls.

*Case IX.* Age, 14; charge, truancy and running away from home. Fairly intelligent, in good health, lives with widowed mother and two brothers, who make her life miserable by teasing and nagging. Mother is careless in supervision of girl. Allows her to go out with other girls at night and to spend nights with girls of doubtful character. Girl went with another girl to a strange part of the city where they rented a room and stayed several days, presumably looking for work. She is known to have called at the apartment of a motion picture actor. The situation distresses the mother who is extremely nervous, has a weak heart, and says that she really cannot be bothered with the strain of working out the problem.

*Case X.* Age 13: charge, truancy. Girl is not properly supervised in home and is in danger of becoming immoral. Both mental and physical conditions are good. Lives with



mother and woman friend in apartment. Friend is a social worker who is intelligently interested in the girl. Mother is an unregretful widow who entertains men in same room in which girl is supposedly sleeping, and goes out evenings with men leaving girl alone. Girl is wholesome, attractive, and fun loving.

*Case XI.* Age, 15; charge, truancy. Average mentality, but weak willed. Parents divorced and both remarried. Girl lived with maternal grandmother in Kansas, then with father and his new wife in New Mexico, but came to live with her mother and step-father in Los Angeles. The latter is a well-appearing man who tries to impose on the girl and when she resents his advance becomes harshly critical. Girl has no amusements or recreations except as she is allowed to go unchaperoned to motion picture shows with girls in the neighborhood.

*Case XII.* Age, 15; charge, truancy. Has good mind but is too lazy to use it. She has not had training in being industrious. Mother dead, father remarried, girl with father's parents. Mother died of tuberculosis and grandmother fears that the girl may develop the same, hence does not discipline her. When they have tried to exercise control the father has interfered by telling the daughter not to obey. The girl is fond of shows, hikes, automobile rides, and excursions. She has a friend, a young man, who wants her to go to school. Her family wishes her to marry the young man. Grandparents are good people but are unable to control the girl who was a fine child until spoiled by the lack of discipline in the situation.

*Case XIII.* Age, 13; charge, truancy. Fair mentality and physical condition. Cool, calculating, and persistent. Interested in art but her mother thinks her too young to

develop the talent. Girl wishes to arrange her hair and dress like other girls but this conduct is forbidden by the mother. Against her mother's orders she went to see an accident which had happened on a street near the home. The mother apprehended her, whipping her all the way home. Girl ran away with an older girl and spent several days in a down town hotel. She has no realization of the seriousness of her action and plays truant regularly. The mother shields her in playing truant—a clear case of extremes—too great severity and too great leniency.

*Case XIV.* Age 11; charge, theft. Poor mind, poor physical condition, due to under-nourishment and harsh treatment. Parents are foreign born who came here from Canada. They left the children alone a few months after arriving in Los Angeles in order to go back to Canada after the household goods. The police were called upon to supervise the children until the parents returned. Father is a plodding type of man who works steadily but does not provide well for his family. He is subject to fits of anger. Mother is high tempered, intolerant, immoral, and without sympathy for the child. She has only a feeling of resentment for the child in most matters, and says the girl is too much like father and brothers. When the father learned that the girl had been truant, he sought her out and beat her unmercifully, and the mother reported that she had whipped the girl very vigorously. The girl was placed on probation and parents warned to cease whipping her. Marked improvements resulted but some time later the mother was taken in a raid and the girl was arrested by the police for stealing jewelery. Mother is glad to be rid of the girl.

*Case XV.* Age 13; charge, truancy. Fair mind, poor physical condition. Lives with father and younger brother

in small rear cottage. Mother is not living. Girl spent some time with a married sister in Texas until father sent for her. She now acts as a go-between for this sister and sister's "affinity." She allows strange boys at the picture shows to be familiar with her and stays out of school as much as she dares. Father is a well educated man who is employed at common labor. He is interested in his children and tries to make them act in regular ways, but is away all day and they take advantage. The mother left him after the two older girls were born and married another man who died. She then returned to this man, and this girl and her brother were born. Girl has evidently a poor heredity, undesirable environment, and suffers from neglect and lack of understanding, although she is an attractive, growing girl.

From the study of these cases five main causes for the delinquency of girls are revealed. These are: (1) Broken and unsettled homes; (2) lack of parental control; (3) poverty; and, (4) wealth—all of which affect the girl in the home; and a fifth cause (5) is in the undesirable influences outside the home.

The first factor (1) that is mentioned, broken homes, is the most fruitful in causing delinquency; the lack of proper parental control, neglect and abuse go hand in hand with broken homes. It is seldom that the three last mentioned factors appear as causes if the parents are living together harmoniously.

A home where friction exists between parents or where the mother is working away from home during the day and therefore unable to properly care for the home and the children is as truly unsettled as far as the future of the children is concerned as the home in which only one parent is living. Oftentimes it is more unsettled, for the spirit of unrest and restraint is communicated to the child with

alarming speed. The main elements which bring about broken homes are divorce, desertion, and death.

(2) There are a number of ways in which lack of parental control appears. Many parents are too lax and do not give the children the training and discipline which they need. It is not enough for parents to exercise the same amount of intelligence and care which they themselves received when they were youthful. Parents who have been reared in the country frequently are helpless in aiding their children to meet the problems of a large city. The parent who is too harsh is not often found but he is, however, frequently a genuine cause of delinquency on the part of a child. The parents or guardians, who, by their indifference or ignorance or both, are contributing to the delinquency of girls, form an appalling number.

(3) Poverty as a cause appears in two ways. Either the children are neglected because of the industrial inability of the parents, or because both parents work. When we consider that the very high percentage of girls who are taken into the Juvenile Court on delinquency charges are from the homes of the poor, we may appreciate the seriousness of poverty as a cause. Moreover, instead of resulting in stealing, the reaction in the majority of girls' cases, is immorality. Many of the girls who are forced to work too young become so impatient with the continual strain of hard work and harsh living conditions that they leave home in search of relief or are lured away by fair speaking people. In either case the girl is an easy prey to those who lead her into immorality, or in other phases of criminal life that may seem to promise relief from the daily routine of her poverty stricken home and the irksome "job."

(4) The influence of wealth is seen in the freedom and lack of discipline which are no less common in the homes of the wealthy than in the homes of the poor and

which usually result in weakness in the self control of the adolescent child. Moreover, the terrors of the consequences of wrong doing which act as a restricting influence are in the cases of children of wealthy parents, often lessened and some times done away with, because of the ease with which facts may be covered up by the use of money.

(5) In the city there are many influences outside the home which appear to counteract the good training that the home may give and which make the situation very difficult for the girls who do not have the advantages of good home conditions. Many girls are greatly influenced by older persons who like to parade their superior knowledge or who subtly wish to take advantage of those younger than themselves.

The influence of men and boys, school boys particularly, is serious; it may be said however that their influence is less than that of older boys and young men who are out of school. The young girl's natural satisfaction at being singled out for attention is of course increased when the man is several years her senior. She is flattered and easily duped. In about half of the cases that have been described in this paper the influence of a boy several years older than the girl is a strong factor.

The problem of recreation is one of the most vital in this field, for wrong forms of amusements or legitimate amusements wrongly used are among the most serious influences at work in affecting girls. The motion picture with its suggestions of good or evil is a dominant factor in forming the ideas and standards of the young. The proximity of the beaches with their atmosphere of freedom, their dance halls, and their opportunity to appear scantily clad without inciting public indignation constitutes another deteriorating influence.

The common access which the children of the city have to automobiles and the freedom with which they are al-

lowed to use them is foreboding. The sense of freedom and exhilaration that is produced by speeding along in an automobile and the ease with which out of the way places may be reached are often overwhelming. Red-blooded boys and girls have little of the background of experiences, knowledge, and judgment which would safeguard them under such circumstances. Automobile rides and excursions that are not carefully chaperoned are open invitations to young people to become delinquent. On the other hand an adequate provision for the social life of young people is a large part of the program that must be worked out in solving the delinquency problems.

The general lowering of standards incident to war and post-war conditions and the loosening of restrictions make it exceedingly difficult for even carefully trained young people to hold to high ideals. A young girl sees life beckoning with rosy fingers and laughing eyes, and she responds, confident that what looks so fair must be good. She craves sympathy, fun, understanding, and life; whatever or whoever seems to offer these is likely to be accepted by her at face value. It is in vain that we cry "she should have known better," because she has no background of experience upon which to base her judgment and she is but reacting to conditions which her home and school have not prepared her to meet.

We are forced to decide that the peril of delinquency among girls is largely a problem of existing economic and social conditions. The logical conclusion is that in order to solve the problem it is imperative that these economic and social conditions be changed.

## AN EXPERIMENT IN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIAL RESEARCH

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

*Professor of Political Science and Sociology, University of Nebraska*

The "Old-Age Support of Women Teachers" is a typical product of the research division of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union under the able management of Dr. Lucile Eaves.<sup>1</sup> Through her expert guidance, not only is the department preparing and publishing materials of great practical value to wage-earning women, but also through participation in research, young women are being prepared for leadership in social service throughout the land. By wide experience and scientific training Dr. Eaves is splendidly equipped for her present position to which she was called several years ago. The Columbia doctorate crowned her years of university study; her lectures on social and economic subjects in the University of California; and the seven years of notable success as associate professor of practical sociology in the University of Nebraska, attest the high quality of her service as a teacher; while her elaborate *History of Labor Legislation in California* (1910), based on an immense mass of source materials, has won for her recognition as a writer of courage and power. Furthermore, she now enjoys the decided advantage of combining academic teaching with original research by joining the duties of "associate pro-

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<sup>1</sup>*Old-Age Support of Women Teachers*. Provisions for old age made by women teachers in the public schools of Massachusetts. A study by the Department of Research of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Lucile Eaves, Ph.D., Director. Studies in Economic Relations of Women, Volume XI. Boston, 1921. Pp. 122.

fessor of economic research" in Simmons College with those of her directorate for the Union.

The present monograph, considered merely as piece of co-operative research relating to a single state, is a document of rare value for the teaching profession and for American education in general. But it has an even greater potential value as the partial realization of an ideal which may prove to be of nation-wide significance. On December 28, 1917, the American Sociological Society, at the suggestion of Miss Eaves, created a "research committee for the purpose of securing the co-operation of its members in country-wide investigations." At the December meeting of the Society, 1919, this committee on the standardization of research reported, recommending that Miss Eaves be authorized to try the experiment of enlisting groups of women students in a co-operative investigation of a subject to be selected by the committee. "How Self-Supporting Women may Provide for their Old Age," was the topic chosen.<sup>2</sup> The subject was suggested by Dr. Eaves "because it will interest women students looking forward to self-support, because women in need of such protection can be found in all parts of the country, and because far-reaching questions dealing with changes in family life and with the development of new forms of social insurance will be involved in the data selected."

It is an inspiring vision! It is obvious that intensive co-operative investigation of social questions, extended to a large area, perhaps many states, might yield generalizations of unique scientific value.

Accordingly the book under review is a "preliminary" report which may be combined with like investigations for other parts of the country on the same vital problem to

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<sup>2</sup>American Sociological Society, *Papers and Proceedings*, XII (1917), p. 248; *Ibid.*, XIV (1919), pp. 253-59. Cf. Eaves, "Plan for Co-operative Research," in *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1920, pp. 568-71.



form a final report that should constitute a broad basis for sound induction. In short, it would be a model, an exhibit, which might challenge co-operative research in other divisions of social life.

It is quite impossible in the available space to attempt a detailed analysis of this piece of statistical research. From cover to cover the book is packed with facts and conclusions which it would profit every teacher, every school board, and every school patron to know, whether in or out of Massachusetts. The brief "Introduction" by Dr. Eaves, describing the origin, purpose, and method of the investigation, is followed by four chapters prepared under her direction by the four fellows of the Research Department.

In the first chapter Ella Anderson discusses the "Personal Characteristics and length of service of Women Teachers in Massachusetts." The data for the investigation were obtained through letters, questionnaires, and personal visits. "Three hundred and five schedules were sufficiently complete for tabulation," including "115 retired Boston teachers and 190 active teachers of whom 105 were state and 85 Boston teachers." Of these 93 per cent "had never assumed the responsibility of married life;" but this fact "does not imply that these women were free from family cares;" for it is shown that "they had many family responsibilities which lessened seriously their ability to accumulate savings for use after retirement from active service." Many make teaching their life work. "Ten per cent of Massachusetts teachers in service January 1, 1920, had taught thirty or more years and nearly 40 per cent had taught fifteen or more years." The lot of the retired teachers is sometimes pathetic. One teacher writes dramatically: "I can imagine nothing more pitiful than the old teacher. She has given body, mind, and soul to her work. She has been expected to keep herself up to the

mark. There have been no exemptions because of advancing age. Up to the moment of 69 years and 364 days she has been assumed to be absolutely efficient and ready to adopt any new work or fad proposed. And then the clock strikes 70! And she is thrown out as a useless toy." This strong initial chapter, like those which follow, is enriched by skilfully constructed charts and statistical tables.

Results of vital importance for the teaching profession in America are obtained by Mabel A. Strong in her investigation of the "Economic Status of Massachusetts Women Teachers while in Active Service." One is surprised at the low salaries received by Massachusetts teachers. Between 1910 and 1920 salaries increased 78.4 per cent; but the cost of living during the same years increased 99.7 per cent, so that teachers are worse off than before the war. In a large class of towns in 1920 the legal minimum wage of paper box workers was \$15.50 a week; while the average weekly salary of teachers was but \$10.58. Three-fourths of the teachers reported expenditures for travel or further education; and such investment frequently resulted in better positions. Often the teacher dared not incur the expense of travel and further education. "I cannot afford this much desired luxury" writes one teacher. "I never had the courage to drop my work and venture to speculate on myself by borrowing funds—my meager salary was very precious not to me alone but to others."

One would like to analyze the enlightening chapter on the "Resources of Massachusetts Women Teachers at the Time of Retirement," by Alice Channing; and the equally instructive account of "Old Age Living Conditions of Retired Boston Teachers," by Sarah Louise Proctor. But there is only space remaining to stress the concluding chapter by Director Eaves, in which she submits "Questions for Discussion by Co-operating Investigators." It is suggested that "contributions to the final report dealing

with conditions throughout the United States may take three forms:

(1) Information showing the extent to which the experiences of Massachusetts teachers are typical of those in other parts of the United States.

(2) Data similar to those presented in this report dealing with the experiences of women who support themselves by vocations other than teaching.

(3) Discussion of the validity of the tentative generalizations suggested in this report."

The skill and insight displayed by the author in the statement of the ten questions suggested for consideration should inspire the zeal which may bring to full fruition this dynamic vision of co-operative social research.

## SOCIOLOGISTS IN CONFERENCE

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

The sixteenth annual conference of the sociologists of the United States which was held in Pittsburgh during the recent holidays showed a registration of about three hundred persons from the leading universities and colleges of the country and developed an unusual degree of interest. As president of the American Sociological Society, Edward C. Hayes of the University of Illinois, introduced three innovations. (1) The program was placed in charge of nine committees, representing thirty-five individuals. (2) Section meetings, round-table discussions, and luncheon meetings were given prominence. (3) The custom was departed from of building the entire program around a main theme.

The committee method of program making and the section meetings were an unquestioned success; they brought forth the findings of specialists in several important sociological fields. The departure from a major theme for the conference deprived the meetings of a desirable degree of unity, a point which will be especially evident when the printed Proceedings appear. The president-elect, James P. Lichtenberger of the University of Pennsylvania, suggested that a compromise might be effected between the single theme and the multiple theme methods. The discussion developed the idea that the spirit of scientific research in sociology must be kept foremost and not sacrificed to the plan of expressing opinions on a popular topic of the day. It was asserted that the multiple method would be productive of more genuine, long-time research than would the preparation, more or less hasty, of delegat-

ed papers. It is to be hoped that Dr. Lichtenberger will find it feasible to try out his suggestion of keeping a portion of the next annual sessions centered upon a major sociological theme and also of giving full rein to reports on the best pieces of uncorrelated sociological research.

President Hayes officially opened the conference with a logical and thorough analysis of the sociological point of view, which is perhaps sociology's oldest asset. He defined a point of view as a set of ideas and feelings which determine what other ideas and feelings shall be allowed to get into the mind. A sociological point of view is the outgrowth of a knowledge of human association, of social evolution, of social causation, and of currents of conscious activities; it is both objective and ethical.

Separate meetings were devoted to each of three methods of sociological research: the eugenic, the environmental, and the historical and cultural. The appearance of mutants among human beings was discussed by Albert E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota, while Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin in his characteristically forceful and fearless way demonstrated the need not for a large birth rate or for a *laissez faire* attitude toward a large birth rate but for a better control of the birth rate than now exists, and showed how a lower birth rate than the present in the United States, if accompanied by a further decrease in the death rate and by education, might even be societarily desirable.

Charles A. Ellwood of the University of Missouri, speaking for a joint social science studies committee (which included Leon C. Marshall of the University of Chicago), stated that the committee urged that social studies be given the central position in public school education and that the other subjects that are ordinarily given be organized about the social studies. Pupils need to be trained primarily in the principles of living together well in organ-

ized society. At least one unit of social studies in every grade in the public schools was also urged by the committee.

Social work as a profession received considerable attention. There was a friendly clash at several points between the social workers and the sociologists. Social workers were reminded that in recent years sociology has become a scientific and tangible study of group phenomena, including the interaction of personalities. Sociologists meanwhile were asked to note the fine possibilities which social work affords in the matter of making case histories of families and communities. It was concluded that sociology needs social work contacts and that social work may profit by sociological wisdom.

The rural sociologists reported upon many studies of rural life conditions that have been made in the United States during the past year under the direction of C. J. Galpin. These studies revealed close observations of statistical facts, but also showed the need of applying social psychology in studying the farmer's attitudes and how these attitudes are built up. The need for community case histories, as distinguished from social surveys, was also apparent. John M. Gillette of the University of North Dakota analyzed the contacts between rural and urban groups.

There is not space here for reporting all the papers that were read at the conference. Suffice it to say in conclusion that the need for scientific social research was emphasized more than any other single factor. Some of the sociologists who presented the possibilities of social research were Lucile Eaves, Robert E. Park, and John L. Gillin. Sociology needs to become a reservoir not of opinions but of scientifically obtained data about collective behavior.

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# Journal of Applied Sociology

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

Round Table Notes appear for the first time in this issue of the JOURNAL. They will constitute a regular feature, and bring to our readers thought-stimulating statements by leading sociological thinkers.

Early contributors to the JOURNAL will be Professor Clarence M. Case and Dr. Hornell N. Hart of the University of Iowa, Professor M. C. Elmer of the University of Minnesota, Professor T. D. Eliot of Northwestern University, Professor W. G. Beach of Leland Stanford University, and Professors Clarence E. Rainwater and M. J. Stormzand of the University of Southern California.

A prominent official of the American Sociological Society writes: "Your new periodical, the JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY, has apparently made a flying start. It seems to me that your decision in regard to the type of journal to be instituted was the wisest one. It ought to have a stimulating influence on sociological development, not only on the Pacific Coast, but throughout the country."

The article in this issue of the JOURNAL by Professor F. Stuart Chapin on the socialized classroom contains much food for thought on the part of teachers everywhere. The teacher's questions are: How can we get pupils to take more initiative in their thought life? Is the helplessness and inertia of many college students in assuming intellectual responsibility due to being poor students, to poor college teaching, or to poor high school and elementary methods? Perhaps all these factors are responsible.

## News Notes

At the present time in the United States the *Christian Century*, an undenominational journal of religion published in Chicago, has no superior among church papers in scientifically and wholesomely interpreting the social principles of Christianity in the light of the current needs of humanity.

Dr. Charles H. Judd of the School of Education of the University of Chicago in speaking at the University of Southern California on December 22 asserted that all curriculum subjects, even the so-called inspirational studies, must be prepared to show measurable results as a justification for their existence in the curriculum. If this be true, then teachers of sociology must work out standards for measuring the results of their endeavors.

The most recently developed activity of the Southern California Sociological Society is represented by its Speakers Bureau which was established in September. At present its work is carried on by young men and women who are college seniors in the departments of sociology and public speaking of the University of Southern California. They go out upon call to the high schools of Southern California, speaking to the classes in social science subjects upon the important social problems of the day. The director of the Bureau is Joseph L. Logsdon, vice-president of the Sociological Society.

In 1920 the advanced students in sociology at the University of Southern California organized a society with humanity as the center of study and service as the spirit of endeavor, and gave the organization the name of Alpha Kappa Delta, the initial letters of the Greek words for the slogan, Humanity and Service. The society is non-secret and democratic, being open to persons who measure up to the organization's three-fold standard of creditable scholarship, social personality, and social achievement. The group now has twenty-nine members. It has already thrown its support behind the JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY and the Division of Social Research of the Department of Sociology in the University, and is at present contemplating a social research project in Los Angeles. Assistant professor Melvin J. Vincent is the president of the organization.



## Book Notes

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. By JAMES M. WILLIAMS, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology, Hobart College. A. A. Knopf, 1920, Pp. XVI + 494, \$6.00.

This book is the first of a series of six which have been written and which will probably be published soon. Together they are to constitute the new science of social psychology. The volume in hand locates the foundation of social science in social psychology, which is defined as "the science of the motives of the behavior of men living in social relations"; it is distinguished from sociology, the science of the externals of behavior as revealed in the origin and development of institutions. In making social psychology unduly subjective, Dr. Williams subjects himself to criticism; it is difficult to test the dependableness of his analysis.

The author correctly contends that the investigator in each of the social science fields is handicapped to the extent that he does not understand the social psychology of the situations with which he deals and to the degree that he guesses at rather than understands the motives of the persons in the various situations.

Dr. Williams is suspicious of the League of Nations; it achieved neither Wilson's ideals nor the wishes of the masses. It bowed to the principle of national ambition for supremacy along economic lines. A true League will emphasize the idealistic purpose of international co-operation on the basis of industrial democracy.

The book is built on extensive research, a synthetic treatment, a keen appreciation of the psychological factors in the various associative activities that are considered, and a subjective interpretation of social psychology.

E. S. B.

A HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS, Ph.D., University of Southern California Press, 1922, Pp. 510, \$3.50.

An attempt is here made to trace the evolution of thought about "the welfare of one's associates and groups," including the "larger social field as well as the more specific one of recent development, namely, the sociological," in the belief that while "the time is hardly

ripe for a history of distinctly sociological thought," nevertheless a study such as here undertaken is of value in forming a "substantial basis for attacking the most important problems of the day," and, incidentally, for understanding "the methods by which sociology has advanced."

The contents of the volume are divided into twenty-eight chapters beginning with two on "The Nature of Social Thought" and "Earliest Social Thought," namely that of undeveloped primitive people, and concluding with discussions of contemporary "Methods of Sociological Investigation" and measures for "The Dissemination of Sociological Thought." Among the remaining twenty-four chapter-titles are found the following less familiar headings, "Eugenic Sociology," "The Trend of Applied Sociology," and "The Rise of Educational Sociology." There is a chapter on "Social Thought in the Middle Ages" and several on the leading ancient and modern writers; among the latter being, Malthus, Comte, Marx, Buckle, Spencer, Ward. The most recent developments are treated topically rather than by authors.

An index is provided while the bibliography is included in the footnotes which are grouped under chapter headings in a separate section immediately following the text. While the volume is designed for upper division and graduate students, it will be found equally intelligible to the serious-minded of the general readers. As stated in the preface "it is not intended to be the last word on the subject but simply a first word," stimulating the reader "to make inquiries on his own behalf." C. E. R.

**THE SOUL OF AN IMMIGRANT.** By CONSTANTINE N. PANUNIZO. Macmillan Company, 1921, Pp. XVI + 329.

Here is the story of a South Italian youth who came to the United States and after many vicissitudes finally developed an American point of view and became a naturalized citizen. The author modestly claims that he is merely recounting the struggles not of a Jacob Riis, an Andrew Carnegie, or of an Edward Bok but of an average immigrant. The struggles which are described are not those for financial success, political power, or social position, but the inner soul struggles of a stranger amid foreign traditions.

As either a psychological analysis or a sociological case study of an individual's mental transitions this treatise is noteworthy. It is documentary evidence of wide significance.

The author's experiences in jails into which he was thrown unjustifiably, once in Boston, are illuminating. The author's style is frank and wholesome, leavened with humor. The book should be read widely, especially by persons who would compel immigrants to become citizens or leave the country. E. S. B.

RURAL ORGANIZATION. By WALTER BURR, Professor of Sociology, Kansas State Agricultural College. Macmillan, 1921, Pp. XI + 250.

Following Carver's classification of functions in the rural community, the author devotes a part to a description of numerous "economic" and "social" actions respectively. The former embraces farm production, marketing, securing supplies, finance, and communication and transportation; while the latter, education, sanitation and health, recreation, beautification, and home-making.

Each chapter opens with a brief argument for community action, from the practical standpoint. To this is added a rather generous number of typical examples, questions for class discussion, and topics for further investigation.

The greatest value of the volume is doubtless the inspiration to be derived from reading the many examples of community organized action. The reviewer wishes, however, that the expressed modesty of the author had not deterred him from entering more fundamentally into a discussion of the principles of rural organization for the local community. C. E. R.

THE NEW SOCIETY. By WALTER RATHENAU. Trans. by Arthur Windham. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921, Pp. 147.

The author is a German business man who organized German industry during the World War. He is a socialist who favors neither a Utopian state nor a dictatorship of the proletariat; he believes in practical projects and adheres to evolutionary principles. He urges that *Kultur* be abolished from the German's vocabulary for thirty years and that a concept of true culture based on democratic principles be substituted for it.

The main theme of the book is the socialization of society, the test of which is "the cessation of all income without work," a system of education equally accessible to all, and the destruction of *Kultur* and of class monopoly, that is, of plutocracy. In a social-

ized society there will be no rich and no one receiving an income without working for it.

The author's style is heavy; it is not always clear. The book flashes with brilliant thrusts at social and economic injustice.

E. S. B.

PROSTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES. By H. B. WOOLSTON, Ph.D., University of Washington. Century Company, 1921, Pp. XIII + 360.

This book which is one of the Bureau of Social Hygiene series, is exhaustive and scientific in its synthesis of the facts of commercialized prostitution in the United States during the decade preceding 1917. The data are classified under headings, such as the prostitute, the segregated district, white slavery, venereal disease and constructive social forces.

The immediate causes of prostitution are found to be "the desire of men and the frailty of women," and the conditions under which the characters of men and women are formed, including the circumstances of their work and play. Two splendid tables are given: one enumerates thirty-eight elements in prostitution; the other cites thirty factors in a program of reform including four educational methods.

A second volume is promised on the influence of the World War upon prostitution in the United States. It is to be hoped that this volume will be forthcoming soon, supplementing the initial treatise with new data.

E. S. B.

THEORIES OF AMERICANIZATION, a critical study, with special reference to the Jewish group. By I. B. BERKSON, Ph.D., Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920, Pp. VIII + 226.

In an enlightening analysis of the concept of democracy, the author defines democracy as a group life in which individual development is rich in possibilities of thought and action, and in which all individuals are conscious of their interdependableness.

In criticizing the Americanization movement in the United States because it requires the immigrant to give up his normal traits and to become Anglo-Saxon in spirit, the author neglects the wider interpretation of Americanization which is also current.

Dr. Berkson urges a community theory of treating immigrants whereby the ethnic traits including biological factors, language and religious factors are preserved by each race, and a cultural unity of all the races is fostered on the basis of democracy, which is made almost a religion.

E. S. B.

THE TREND OF THE RACE. By SAMUEL J. HOLMES, Ph.D.  
University of California. Harcourt, Brace and Company,  
1921, Pp. 396, \$4.00.

The student of human heredity will find this book to be a valuable compendium. While remaining close to the facts of heredity in human life, as found in the studies which have been made in this field, the author maintains a position of mastery over his materials. At only two or three points does he fall into the error of many writers on heredity, namely, of claiming for heredity certain influences which apparently are environmental. Dr. Holmes subjects himself to this criticism in the section on the inheritance of mental ability.

After dealing with the laws of heredity, and the inheritance of mental defects and mental ability, the author discusses birth rates and natural selection in war. The chapters on assortative mating, industrial development, and religion are significant. The book is a substantial contribution to eugenic sociology.

E. S. B.

FIELD WORK AND SOCIAL RESEARCH. By F. STUART  
CHAPIN, Professor of Sociology, Smith College. Century,  
1920, Pp. XI + 224, \$1.50.

This volume is unique in its pioneering attempt to single out the scientific rather than the practical values in field work. It is no less valuable to the practical worker for that fact, since in its eight chapters and eighteen illustrations taken from family schedules, score and face cards and tables of public and private agencies are contained many suggestions for practical social service; but the distinctive emphasis is one upon methodology both for the sake of more efficient social work and the securing of more adequate data upon which a student of the science of human behavior may work. While the discussions in some instances should have been more comprehensive they are full of suggestions concerning the technique and inspiration for the growing attitude of a more "scientific" social work and a more accurate and "inductive" social science.

C. E. R.

## Round Table Notes

Civilization is city-fication. *Salisbury*

All life is determined by attention. *Hayes*.

Payment without service is waste. *Tawney*.

Sociology is the science of collective behavior. *Park and Burgess*.

From sociology must come answers to the question, "What shall be the aim of education?" *Snedden*.

The only individualism which is justifiable is that which is built up in the service of others. *Blackmar*.

The capitalist system of industry has never had really a fair trial; the capitalist has always abused it. *Rowntree*.

In the guidance of society each social element should share according to the intelligence and public spirit of its members and none should dominate. *Edward A. Ross*.

Poverty is caused chiefly by the failure of social invention and social arrangements to keep pace with the exploitation of Nature, with economic organization, and with the development of individual initiative. *Gillin*.

American democracy must first become incapable of tolerating the lynching in Georgia or the massacre in Illinois of black citizens, if it would be the successful apostle of race brotherhood in the world. *George Elliott Howard*.

Sociology . . . avoids on the one hand the crude individualism of the nineteenth century, and, on the other hand, that rampant radicalism which favors empty panaceas and short cuts to social perfection. Sociology realizes that evolution is better than revolution, that haste must be made slowly, and that it is no easy task to quicken the leaden feet of Nature. *Dealey*

# JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY



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# Journal of Applied Sociology

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## SOCIOLOGY: ITS CRITICS AND ITS FRUITS

By GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

*Professor of Political Science and Sociology, University of Nebraska.*

SCARCELY any event in the history of learning is more dramatic or more enlightening than the struggle of sociology for recognition as a science and especially for its acceptance as an academic discipline worthy of full rank and privilege. Yet the event is not unique. It is but the latest—perhaps the most remarkable—example of a contest which many a new—many an upstart or plebeian—science has had in order to win a place beside the older disciplines. In its rise did not even astronomy leave martyrs by the way? This “jealousy of science” is a very curious phenomenon; but it is perhaps not hard to explain. Is it not due at once to the pride and to the conservatism of learning? Like the ancient *trivium* and *quadrivium*, it is perhaps natural that the orthodox or time-sanctioned studies should become a privileged oligarchy, assuming that they have explained all the phenomena of the cosmos worthy or capable of scientific treatment; and that their votaries should feel it their duty to challenge the credentials of any new claimant of scientific honors.

How rich and varied is the program of studies which the college or university now displays compared with the

meager list of a few decades ago! What an amazing transformation has taken place within my own years of college study and teaching! Biology, for instance, was long excluded from full academic franchise. It was criticised as a study devoid of genuine disciplining or scientific value; and, besides, in some quarters biology was anathema; for did it not reek with the tainted breath of evolution and Darwinism? In the colleges of the eighteen-seventies—often in those of a much later time—modern languages were grudgingly admitted as bi-activities, if indeed any place at all could be found for them in their cramped curricula. Even the English language and English literature were denied an honorable place in the schedule of prescribed studies; for did they not lack the mysterious quality of “scientific discipline” which the “classics” were supposed to possess in a preeminent degree? Occasionally, to still the rising clamor of rude philistines for something more recent and more useful than that provided by the conventional programs, a sop was tossed to the crowd in the form of a “side-line” of subjects consisting usually of a melanges of English literature, modern science, and French or German, seasoned perchance with a “pinch” of history; but the half-ashamed graduate was not decorated with the proud title of “bachelor of arts.” He had to content himself with some such humble degree as “bachelor of philosophy”; although that label might imply as little of philosophy as the more aristocratic badge implied of art.

#### I. HOSTILE CRITICISM OF SOCIAL STUDIES

However, it is the case of the social sciences which at this time chiefly challenges our attention. In America it is scarcely four decades since the oldest of these subjects won a really important place in college education. First

history, then economics, and then political science, each reluctantly, was admitted to full academic franchise; but each had to run the gauntlet of hostile criticism. Each was challenged to validate its scientific quality and to demonstrate its relative fitness to be accredited as an educative discipline. In fact, with very few exceptions, it was not until about 1885 that separate chairs of history began to appear. "It is all very well," sadly conceded my colleague, a professor of Greek in those days, "that students should *read* some history; but is it quite right to induce them to spend so great a share of their precious time on an easy culture subject to the neglect of the really scientific disciplines?" Surely you recognize the tone! The portentous hegira had already begun!

Greater trouble was at hand. The differentiation of the social sciences was not yet complete. A still more audacious claimant for scientific recognition now sought admission to the temple of learning. For the study, which Auguste Comte placed at the head of his "hierarchy" of the sciences and which in 1839 he named "sociology," had for its function the boldest, the hardest task which the human mind had thus far conceived: the exploration and explanation of social life as a whole. General and persistent has been the militant reaction of conservatism. The attempt of the sociologist to reveal law and cause; to disclose orderly process in the molding of personality and group-behavior in their mutual inter-relations; to demonstrate the reality of the social control of phenomena, of institutions, commonly regarded as beyond the limits of human power: such hardihood, it is not surprising, has evoked wide-spread criticism, sometimes calm and helpful, often violent, and occasionally lapsing into ridicule, even among disciples of the sister social sciences. Here there is not time for a history of this late campaign in the "warfare of science"; and, doubtless, a few typical examples of

the mode of attack may suffice.

Significant for the healthful reaction which it provoked was the violent assault upon sociology and sociologists made by Professor Henry James Ford, of Princeton, in 1909. In an article in the *New York Nation*, entitled "The Pretensions of Sociology," republished in the *American Journal of Sociology*, this critic, after reproaching sociologists for nourishing theories of trial marriage, free love, and other extreme doctrines, exclaims:

"We have here an instance of what is a striking characteristic of sociology. It gives a hospitable reception to notions examined, described, and rejected by established science. After a hard struggle political science has got rid of noxious follies generated by French ideology in the eighteenth century. They now appear as doctrines propounded by sociology. And so, likewise in other branches of science, sociology appears as an interloper, proclaiming that the work must all be done over again, and so it starts to rake the refuse heap. It is a whimsical situation. Sociology admits that it has really no scientific credentials, and yet it claims sovereign authority in the field of science."

The vicious temper and vast ignorance displayed in this diatribe were promptly rebuked by various scholars, particularly by Dr. Small who gratefully admits that "Professor Henry James Ford of Princeton has lately done sociologists the notable service of advertising to the world how ingeniously sociology may be misinterpreted"; though "by no means the first instance of strange sayings coming out of Princeton on this subject."

This incident tended to clear the air. Thereafter, until recently, criticism has tended to be more intelligent and more helpful, though it has by no means ceased. The attitude of the economists has always been of special interest; for have not the fields of sociology and economics

overlapping borders; and does not the situation call for close and sympathetic team-work rather than for opposition? "Ten years ago," wrote Dr. Small in 1905, "it was assumed that there was peculiar rivalry between sociology and economics. Today the sociologist or economist who should betray belief that the two disciplines are really antagonistic would be classed as a survival. The relation between sociology and economics is not competitive but complementary, and the fact is now taken for granted by scholars in both fields, with exceptions as rare as they are unfortunate."

Yet the "unfortunate" exceptions have survived. Long after Professor Small's declaration, a distinguished Boston economist, piqued by the sight of throngs that listened to the papers at one of the meetings of the American Sociological Society, exclaimed, "We economists cannot hope to compete with vaudeville shows!" Sometimes sociology suffers for the heinous sin of being too interesting! Another smart quip is dying hard. A few months ago, at the dedication of a social science building, a well-known economist, president of a great state university, described sociology as a would-be science teaching "what everybody knows in terms which nobody understands." The gibe is not original; but it has value for the sociologist as an excellent example of suggestion-imitation. Besides, the taunt reveals the quite common ignorance and conceit of conservatism regarding the value of new concepts and the struggle to express them in suitable terms. In fact, has not sociology vastly enriched the vocabulary of modern thought? Without the words—the concept-names—which it has invented and made the circulating medium of intermental communication, it would be hard, if not impossible, to carry on the effective discussion of the most important problems of social life.

Truly the off-hand criticism or even scornful repudia-

tion by a specialist in one field of the thought of a specialist in another field would sometimes be amusing were it not pathetic. Lawyers, for instance, who have slight acquaintance with sociology, theoretical or applied, are often cock-sure antagonists. A great jurist may accept the teachings of one group of sociologists while, from imperfect knowledge, he ridicules the teachings of another group of equal or higher authority. Thus recently Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford, while not denying the value of sociology, appears still to be too much under the sway of Spencer and the "organicists." In truth," he declares, "apart from the well-known achievements of the great pioneers of the study—A. Comte as to the classification of the sciences and Herbert Spencer as to the application of the principles of physical evolution to social life—the best contributions to general sociology have been attained by applying purposely one-sided theories to the investigation of society."

To perceive no real advance in general sociology since Comte and Spencer is indeed surprising. Is not the following dictum a bit provincial?

"The more or less paradoxical fancies of Lester Ward provide perhaps more interesting reading, but the thought which suggests itself forcibly in the perusal of this writer's volume is that his excursions into all the sciences are the very reverse of careful scientific inquiry: why should such random disquisitions pretend to be contributions to a new science?"

Yet, making all due allowance for alleged faulty psychology and for alleged unsound theory of social forces, it is agreed by the majority of scholars competent to pass judgment that Ward's great achievement is the release of sociology from Spencer's hampering biological method of treatment and the revelation of it as essentially a psychological study. Hence, more than to any other one writer,

credit must be given to Ward for the present marvelous development of sociological thought and its resulting practical applications. He clarified the mental atmosphere which Spencer and the "organicists" had befogged, and disclosed the real contrast between physical and social evolution.

Verily little knowledge has proved a dangerous thing on the part of the critics of social science!

## II. SOME OF THE FRUITS OF SOCIOLOGY

It is surely needless to multiply examples. Unintelligent opposition has been absolutely futile to stay the swift process of social reconstruction which chiefly the sociologists have inspired. Humanity has gained a new point of view. Society has become self-conscious. It has found itself. It is perceived that social habits, beliefs, institutions, conditions, have been made by men and therefore may be changed by men for good or for ill. Humanity is discovering how very much the control of its destiny rests in its own hands. The social conscience has been quickened; and therefore it is not quite so easy to shift responsibility for social evils, for social sinning, to the shoulders of the Almighty. Now this release of the human mind from the paralyzing sway of the ancient fatalism is due largely to sociological teaching; and already how vast and varied are the results! Especially during the last three decades organized efforts for human betterment have appeared in almost every phase of social life; and these efforts are in reality forms of applied sociology even in cases, such as economic or political reforms, for which it does not always occur to the "man on the street" to give credit to the sociologist. Indeed the new social intelligence is pervasive. Tasks are undertaken as a matter of course which a few years ago would have seemed futile or almost impiously

daring. A vast and swiftly growing literature records the achievements of sociological theory and research in many fields. Marriage and the family, with their many related problems, have been revealed as social institutions to be handled as freely as other social products according to human needs. An intelligent public interest in the welfare of mother and child has been aroused. Various safeguards for maternity are being provided; and the mother's pension enables the poor widow to keep her family together. Many effective child-saving institutions have arisen. A ban has been placed upon child labor. The delinquent child is cared for in the juvenile court and the detention home. Elementary education is secured for the child by compulsory laws. The causes of infant mortality are being exposed; and through the beneficent alliance of sociology, wise sanitation, and socialized medicine the span of the human generation has been more than doubled in the western world, chiefly through the saving of babies from needless death. Most significant victory of all in the campaign for child welfare, an efficient Federal Children's Bureau has been established; and its many-sided efforts are starting a veritable revolution throughout the land in methods of child nurture and preservation. A successful warfare is being waged on the "great white plague"; while the age-long superstition that vice should be segregated has been exposed; and the "social evil" is being abated. Through organized efforts the unborn child and the innocent wife and mother are beginning to be protected from the deadly taint of venereal disease. The danger and injustice of the dual standard of sexual ethics are being realized. Slowly eugenic marriage laws, for the safeguarding of the family, are appearing on the statute book. The economic needs of the household are being promoted through the minimum wage and social insurance. Even more helpful in advancing the material welfare of the



family are the myriad schools and departments of household science which throughout this land and elsewhere have recently sprung up as if by magic. Through the persistent and courageous efforts of social workers, nationwide equal suffrage has been secured: and is not this in effect an immense stride in the process of socializing both men and women; in preparing them for team-work in the world's business? Not less dramatic through the same forces is the fall of "king alcohol"; for the banishment of the saloon and the destruction of the liquor traffic in our country is doing more than is any other influence to lessen poverty, misery, and crime. In the treatment of criminals the age of social vengeance is giving way to the age of social justice; for has not the sociologist demonstrated that the causes of crime are chiefly bad social conditions and that the true function of punishment is remedial—rehabilitation of the offender?

Especially significant are the three great modern processes of socialization, each of which, clarified by a vigorous literature, seems likely, judging from the good results already obtained, greatly to advance human welfare:

1. Through the "socialization of education" our schools and colleges, freed in part from the hindering fetters of the "classical" and other superstitions, are beginning in new and more enlightened ways to minister to the real needs of men. But the process must be carried further. The socialization of education must include the teacher. From the grades to the university public welfare demands that the teacher should be set free and become a living force in social progress. At present in the United States "we denature our teachers and wonder why teaching is so bad. It is not the lack of equipment, it is not a lack of talent; the reason teaching is lacking in inspiration in this country, the reason why our schools are lacking in interest to the teacher and the pupil, is the position in which we

have placed the teacher and the denial of any right to opinions or to action on any subject of vital or commanding interest to the community."<sup>1</sup>

2. The rising call for the "socialization of religion and the church," which is winning encouraging response, may eventually, let us hope, effect a new Reformation in these fields. Aroused to its ethical responsibility, the church is beginning to take a direct hand in efforts for the betterment of world conditions. The priest is joining the sociologist in the rebuke of social sinning. Today who is the pharisee? Is he not the priest who proclaims the "pure gospel" in the pulpit and prays for souls in secret, while he shuns the perils of joining in the open fight against entrenched greed and the other powerful forces of evil? In reality is there not more religion in things than in creeds? Witness the splendid report on the steel strike: the bravest, the noblest, the most "religious" act of the Christian church in a hundred years! What a pleasing prospect of advancing civilization the possibility of a thoroughly socialized religion, practiced by a thoroughly socialized church, opens to the vision of the dreamer! Who will be responsible should the dream not come true?

3. There is need, nowhere among the great nations so urgent as in the United States, that the movement for a "socialized jurisprudence" should be successful. Our antiquated judicial procedure, for instance, is a national disgrace, exciting the wonder of foreign observers like James Bryce; and the American bar must share in the process of social regeneration if it would maintain its theoretical character as an agent of justice and escape the menace of becoming a parasitical profession.

Moreover, education, the church, and the law are not the only great fields of thought which have benefited by socialization. In particular, the sister social sciences have

<sup>1</sup>Frederick C. Howe, *Denmark a Co-operative Commonwealth*, 124-25.

been enriched. Recently the notable contributions of sociology to political science have been acutely examined in an able monograph.<sup>2</sup> Research would doubtless reveal equally striking results for economics. Economists are extending their activities more and more to the welfare side of social life; especially are they sharing with the sociologists a keen interest in the ethics of the consumption of wealth. History is being vitalized and transformed into an agency for social good. Possibly in strict theory history is concerned only with unique events in time and space. In that case its encroachment on the domain of sociology—its borrowing of the elements of comparison and social causation, the extension of its interests to hitherto much neglected social events—has been of decided advantage to the study.

Now these gains for humanity, and others which may not here be named, have in large part been won at the expense of the predatory classes. It is not strange, therefore, even in normal times, that their authors should be stigmatized; their ideals ridiculed and falsified. Nevertheless, before the world war, the workers for social reconstruction more than held their own. There was distinct progress; reform projects were gaining in popular favor; and, on the whole, the prospect for a swift advance in social welfare seemed bright indeed. But the prospect has been dimmed. Spiritually as well as materially we are now paying the price of that awful struggle. Unforeseen conditions are giving the enemies of social progress opportunities which they are not slow to seize. In more senses than one the "old guard" is grasping power. Many of the precious assets of civilization won in times of peace are put in jeopardy. American society has reached the serious moral crisis which usually follows a great war. It is

<sup>2</sup>By Harry Elmer Barnes, "Some Contributions of Sociology to Modern Political Theory," in *American Political Science Review*, XV, November, 1921, pp. 487-533.

passing through a transition phase which, let us hope, may not be long drawn out. To minimize its inevitable evils will require wise and courageous leadership. The challenge to the enlightened conscience is imperative. The true sociologist must gird up his loins and unflinchingly bend to his task. For are not some of his highest ideals at least temporarily at stake? The times are calling loudly for the social puritan.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In the next number of the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Dr. Howard will discuss "A Call for the Social Puritan."

## POVERTY AND CHILD WORK

By WALTER G. BEACH

*Professor of Social Science, Stanford University.*

THE WAR and its settlement, on the one hand, and the succeeding reaction toward individual profit and pleasure, on the other, make it easy for us to become forgetful of some of the most valuable results of many years of effort and struggle. There are not wanting indications that society has become somewhat indifferent to the existence of child labor, though the social danger is as real as it ever was. And because there is still in many minds some confusion over certain aspects of the problem, there is reason to draw attention again to the social responsibility which the situation involves.

The industrial system does not call for skill alone; it also clears a path for the unskilled. Specialization, while sometimes meaning a definite kind of training, taking time to acquire, often involves the breaking up of occupations into simple operations for which neither training nor skill is needed. The result is to open forms of industry to children and to youth without apprenticeship, as well as to adults who have no skill. And the great increase in volume of such unskilled workers makes the wages low and the conditions surrounding work more careless and less human. America even more than Europe has been flooded with a vast oversupply of cheap labor without skill whose work is the result of an extraordinary subdivision and simplification of industrial processes through the use of machinery. The occupational distribution of labor is bad, and the consequence is seen in inadequate wages, in an increasing insecurity of employment, and in the pathetic

stream of child workers.

The cheapest thing in the world is a child; and yet the ends of life are realized only through the upbuilding of childhood. Coming with the factory system, as machinery has divided work into specialized and minute forms, each detached from its neighbor, the growth of child labor with the growth of the opportunities for it has at last claimed the attention of mankind. By direct legislation some of the worst conditions have been met, but still in the United States we have a large number—perhaps two million—of our children under fifteen years of age earning their living day by day.

Together with this recognized fact we have become conscious, as industries have forsaken the home and have gathered in factories, that the home does not train children as workers, and therefore the school must be counted upon to do this work. Hence the demand that the school should prepare for industry. But over against this vocational demand upon the school is the fact that children are not in the school, but in large numbers are at work in the industries at the age when the school should claim them. The possibilities of progress are wrapped up in the holding of growing childhood under the influences of the better factors of civilization for longer and longer periods as these factors become more complex and varied. It is this which, as Fiske pointed out, constitutes the meaning of the prolonged infancy of children as compared with the lower animals, though we recognize that children must in time enter the world of work. Children need the school to mediate and direct their experiences in relation to the social heritage of the race; they need the school also as the means of directly and healthfully relating them to the world of work. But something seems to stand in the way of the school performing this task. In part it is the failure of the school to see its real social function; but in even greater part it is

the vast background of poverty which dominates the lives of men. This it is which stands out as after all the most vital fact in the relation of childhood and youth to the problem of labor; and this must be faced as we ask the question, is it possible to keep children under the better social influences of the school, while at the same time they are being prepared for their later work life?

Two doors are open to childhood; one is a wage of a few dollars a week; the other is the life of the school. Unfortunately the school life is none too successful a competitor with the small weekly earnings. The problem evidently points in two directions; on the one hand it is a question of economic conditions; on the other it is a question of education. The heart of the problem from the educational side is the fact of the "blind alley" occupations, that is, the over-specialized and unmeaning pieces of work which have followed the increasing use of machinery. The heart of the problem viewed from the side of industry is the inadequacy of the family wage, that is, the reality of poverty. The plain fact to be recognized is that the members of a family other than its head must work in order to live, since they are on the subsistence margin; and following closely upon it, is the further consideration that if this forces the young members of the family into industry, they enter specialized, unskilled, poorly paid jobs, leading to no other work of a better sort. Whether they enter industry from the fifth grade or the eighth grade or the tenth grade, they receive about the same wage; and no kind of school training can change this fact, since the jobs require neither training nor great strength nor maturity of judgment. In reporting her study of girls at work in Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, Miss Atherton says, "The astonishing thing about the wage-scale is that it varies scarcely at all in proportion to the grade at which the girl left school."

The Survey of the New York Educational Commission reaches the conclusion that possibly five per cent of children under sixteen enter occupations which have some future. What then can we look forward to for the remaining ninety-five per cent of those who, at too early an age, enter industry through the doorway of the hope-destroying unskilled life. To educate children for industrial vocations is wise if you have work for them in and through which they may develop. But to fit them into jobs which lead nowhere and which are so routine and mechanical as to fail entirely to arouse and hold the interest is the worst folly, and for children in the grades not much more than this is possible. The best the school can do in this dilemma is to try to hold the youth in school till sixteen, and if possible, eighteen years of age, and thus to guide as many as possible away from these unskilled, monotonous pieces of work. Certainly it ought not to direct children to low-grade types of work that neither need nor ask for training, but should rather be warned against as a source of human destruction.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile perhaps the most important work in the field of industrial education which the school can do is with the public rather than with the boy or girl. It is time that the adult world fully realized that children who begin work as so-called apprentices, ordinarily are not apprentices, because apprenticeship is dead. And it is dead because the organization of industry today has largely eliminated gradations of work. Instead of the stairway or ladder which every lad used to be encouraged to climb, with the hope of landing at the top, today we have the closed compartment system, no piece of work serving as a preparation for another. And the greater the quantity of cheap labor, the more complete and minute is this specialized compartment organization of industry. Cheap

<sup>1</sup>This is the basis for the present law in California.



immigrant labor makes it; cheap woman labor extends it; and child labor intensifies it. What the school as well as every other educational agency ought to do is to insist that the system itself is wrong, is destructive, and involves the very overthrow of the educational value of work in relation to life. It is the sacrifice of life to machinery. What business has the school so to guide children as to perpetuate the system? Instead of the effort to fit children for such work, the great need is to make the industrial life fit for either children or their parents.

And so again we are forced back to the other phase of the problem. Here is the family with the wage of its male head less than sufficient to keep the family above the poverty line; and here are children in the family who may quickly earn a few dollars a week,—perhaps a third as much as the father can earn. The Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor for 1912 reported that nearly five thousand children were engaged in manual work in that State (four hundred being under fourteen years of age); that 397 families show that the fathers did not earn enough to support their families, and that they were forced to depend upon their children for from one-fourth to one-sixth of the total family wage. Three-fifths of the wage-earners of the State earned less than \$7.50 per week. Similar facts were brought to light in the investigations of the Federal Immigration Commission, the New York Factory Investigation Commission, and other similar careful studies.

Thus it is not only a temptation by which the family is overcome, if the child is taken from the school to enter such a job; it is an imperious necessity. "The destruction of the poor is their poverty"; and the problems of child labor and child education are not isolated questions to be solved by a shift in the school system. The handicaps upon opportunity are so commonly poverty-bred that it

may almost be said that the effort to provide opportunity must always end in being an effort to remove poverty. Vice is largely poverty; crime is largely poverty; drunkenness is poverty; sickness is poverty; ignorance is poverty. The great opportunity is therefore economic, except as we modify this statement by the recognition that education is a means of changing economic life, and so of extending opportunity. And yet here is society ordering and enforcing an educational standard upon its youth which involves a delay to their entrance into the economic life and entails an immediate burden upon the income of the family. If this standard is to function it evidently is a problem which society itself must face. The standard can have significance and reality only if it be economically possible, which is only to say in other words that the economic order of society must serve its social order as expressed in its standards. The school may well explain the social need of the standard, but society has in no way met and solved the problem by compelling school attendance and ordering the school to educate its youth.

As children are seen drifting into industry, and the problem of child labor with its degenerating consequences grows before our eyes as opportunity is denied, it becomes necessary, therefore, to remember the all-pervading influence of poverty, and to recognize its relation to this problem. Usually it is poverty which, directly or indirectly, drives children to work; and this may be asserted in the face of published statistics which seem to show that children leave the school largely for other reasons. For the "other reasons" are in the main, at least indirectly, poverty reasons. They are commonly based upon the fact that no mere rearrangement of the educational activities of the school for individual children, can, by itself, change the work system of the world into which they must fit. They arise from a recognition of the fact that it is as

easy to earn three dollars a week at the end of the fifth as the eighth grade. They are the lure of the prizes and pleasures with which poverty is dazzled as it passes them in the street. They are the numbered outcry of the restless longing of eager youth against the barrenness and grinding monotony of the poverty life. And too often they are the cry of the need which must disregard the future because it must face the bitter present; or they are an expression of the poverty-made ignorance which can see no farther than today and so can not realize the problem of tomorrow. To be poor is to be without—outside—the wealth of comforts, of pleasures, of associations, of satisfactions, which, to the young especially, while not everything, make up so much of the values of the ordinary struggle of life. And so when children dropping from school, say that they do not really need to go to work, too often the background of family poverty is the true if not appreciated reason for their act.

It is time that we recognize that the school ought to keep children under preparation for skilled work and the larger life till eighteen years of age; and incidentally this might somewhat decrease the supply of poorly paid labor and so increase wages. It may be added that the most immediately hopeful educational experiment for this purpose of socially directing the life of youth for so long a period, is the cooperative school which brings the industrial world and the school together in the attempt to relate young people to the processes of industry while surrounding them with the atmosphere of education. Under present conditions, with the weakening of the family as a child-protective agency, it is entirely unsafe to submit the child to a wage-contract system organized by individualist employers for their own profit. The supply of children is too great, their helplessness too apparent; and the result is their hopeless exploitation and destruction under the

pretense of their apprenticeship as learners. But if, while they are studying the processes of industry in a real way, the school may become the foster-parent, it may furnish that protection which will make possible a real apprenticeship, so that to this abused word may be restored something of the idea of guardianship during the period of preparation for the industrial life. We have gone but a little way in working out this problem.

But at the same moment that we make this statement, we ought to recognize that this cannot be successfully accomplished in the face of the inadequate and insecure wages which control the lives of so large a proportion of American families. For all the factors of sickness, accident, unemployment, old age, desertion, widowhood, and ignorance which figure so monotonously in the statement of poverty, are but evidences of the utter incapacity of the poorer wage-earner so to adapt his life to industry as to give his children a larger and more valued opportunity.

Thus poverty is seen to be fundamental in the child labor problem. To meet child labor by educational plans alone must inevitably fail, since to abolish effectually such labor conditions society must not only be willing to permit the school to hold youth under its instruction to the age of eighteen years, while it makes possible a larger understanding of the work of the world; it must also expect that the "blind alley" types of work shall be performed in the main by the aged or by machinery; and especially must it face the problem of the maintenance of a minimum and living wage as necessary to the abolition of the worst poverty. Thus and thus only can our society and our age bring something of the glory and beauty of the larger opportunity to the lives of working children.

# THE BIOLOGIST IN RELATION TO THE PROBLEM OF EUGENICS

By ALBERT B. ULREY

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THE OUTSTANDING contribution of the biologist to eugenics will always be his research which ultimately gives a better understanding of man in his biological aspects. To know man biologically requires some knowledge of his social character also. Hence there will be no sharp line separating the field of the biologist and that of the sociologist. Indeed they should be mutually helpful, the one to the other. At present time there is much of promise in the attitude of the sociologist trained in the modern view of approach to the problem of race improvement. It is equally true that the modern biologist is giving more adequate consideration to the social factor in human evolution.

Recent genetic studies have greatly stimulated biological research in directions lending some hope to the eugenicist. The early studies of Mendelism have now been supplemented by investigation which shows the problem is by no means as simple as it seemed. However this investigation now included in Mendelism has given a far better outlook on genetic problems than we had prior to 1900. In their relations to eugenics these studies have served to guide more efficiently research concerning the inheritance of human traits than was formerly possible. It was under the stimulus of Mendelism that we learned the value of pedigree studies and the unit character method of attack, both vital factors in research in eugenics as well as general biology. This is true whatever modifications one may

subsequently make of our present view concerning factors and unit characters.

In the field of research on internal secretions of the endocrine glands we have a line of investigations which is now receiving much attention. The present progress in these studies indicates that we may expect that important light will be thrown on numerous obscure problems of biology. None of these is of more interest than the study of the relation of these secretions to physical characteristics of man, to his development to maturity, even to his intelligence and emotional life. These "hormones" are now known to have a vital relation to man's characteristics both physical and mental. Any study of the fundamental nature of man will require a consideration of these extraordinary substances which seem to be specific for him and others of his family.

Another biological advance of fundamental importance to race betterment is the evolutionary viewpoint which now obtains in all biological circles and is fast penetrating the non-biological mind. While many of these factors of the evolution of living things are still little understood it is vital to the success of eugenics as it is to general biology that this evolutionary viewpoint be observed. Only the student of the human race who sees it in this larger outlook can hope to gain an adequate understanding of its multifarious problems or serve best to direct its improvement.

Leaving aside theoretical considerations relating to the eugenics movement, I wish now to suggest three modes of procedure which seem important in the improvement of the human race, particularly that part of it in the United States.

There is needed a more comprehensive and a more accurate study of human traits, both physical and mental. Probably the general laws of inheritance in plants and

animals are those found in man. It still remains true that we need many pedigree studies of families to verify this belief or modify it. The fact that we are unable to control human matings at will as we do in experimentation on other animals is no warrant for our failing to study the mating found everywhere about us. Every family pedigree is as valid a study of heredity in some of its phases as is found in breeding fruit flies.

The student of human heredity needs to know as thoroughly as possible the hereditary nature of the matings in order to know the probable genetic composition of the germ cells. To this end the family history must be traced not only relating to the mating pair but as well to their parents, uncles, aunts, and their children. The work of making records of these human experiments has not been done on a scale commensurate with its importance.

In this country only one comprehensive attempt has been made to collect and analyze data concerning human inheritance. There is the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor directed by Dr. C. B. Davenport. This institution founded in 1910 has now on file about 4000 records of family traits; these are of "varying" degrees of excellence. These records were made chiefly by those interested in eugenic problems. While they are of great value they leave unrecorded the traits of the masses who care not for race improvement. It is apparent that we shall never make much progress in improving the human race biologically without a much more adequate study of human genetics. We may need to use in peace time the agency used in war to determine the physical and mental traits of our people, namely, some department of the federal government.

A second consideration necessary for race improvement relates to what I may call the unrealized potentialities of men. It is a common observation that individuals rarely

if ever fully use the talents they possess.

In his effort to improve the race biologically the eugenicist may underestimate the importance of bringing to realization the latent traits of the individual. In our educational procedure we have given little attention to providing special facilities for training the superior student. We have rightly provided special rooms and teachers for the backward child. We are now coming to a just realization of the handicaps of physical defects which can be remedied. But we have not yet in our educational system any adequate provision for the training of the student with superior ability.

We are thus failing to care for our best heritage.

Practically the entire school system whether it be the public school or college, places the emphasis on the procedure required for the average or inferior grade of students. The result is that the superior student is never challenged to do his best. Without effort he is able to make "A" grades, when judged by the low standards of the average students. I am convinced that many students with superior ability go from our schools with bad habits of study never having called forth the superior talent they possess, because of faulty methods of teaching.

The remedy I think lies in, first, applying and perfecting mental tests to determine which are the students with this innate superior ability. It will be conceded that the tests need improvement; however, the results obtained from the war tests of mental ability reassure us that with further study a fair degree of accuracy may be attained in selecting out the student with high innate endowment. Following this is needed the test of actual performance in his daily work to correct or confirm the preliminary tests. When once the status of the students is determined there should be provided every facility needed to bring forth the latent ability present. They must be segregated



and have ample facilities and a well trained teacher devoting his energies to meeting the needs of this one class of students. The drag of mediocre standards set for superior students entails an enormous waste and must influence profoundly our civilization. I think that when the public once realizes the handicap placed on the teacher who attempts to instruct in one group, students of inferior, average, and superior innate ability it will demand a change in procedure. Wastage of the talent of the superior class of our youth seems like criminal neglect. What profit shall it be if we provide means for improving the germ plasm of the race and fail to bring to fruition the heritage we have?

Among scientific workers there is much of promise in the recent widespread interest in research. This interest with its increased demand for workers as well as augmented facilities will afford a field of action for the superior research student which will challenge his best efforts. This research spirit will be a potent factor in scientific achievement both as a contribution to our knowledge and a suitable field for training one group of those having superior talent.

In the United States probably the most immediate prospect of improving the human race, biologically as well as socially, is found in selecting the character of the immigrant we admit to our country. The urgency of a right solution of this problem is seen in the large admixture of foreign races in our population. Almost every race and culture and tongue on earth is represented and it is reported that millions of these foreign peoples are now waiting an opportunity to come to our shores.

Our practice regarding the kind of immigrant we admitted in the past has been extremely faulty. The first restrictions barred only convicts (for other than political offenses), lunatics, idiots, and persons with loathsome

diseases. Later on prostitutes and those engaged in the white slave traffic were added to the list. There is now no considerable objection to these restrictions.

Later the "literacy test" was added against strong opposition and provision was made for a much more rigid examination of immigrants for insanity and mental defects. The difficulty of giving these tests adequately to the hordes seeking admission was very great. It is said that the examinations at Ellis Island were made at the rate of five hundred a day. It is perfectly obvious that tests for mental defects, for criminal and anti-social tendencies could not be made at such a rate with the available force trained for this work. It is well known that large numbers of persons with low innate intelligence are admitted each year and this group now constitutes a great menace both for the present and the future.

In the United States the army tests revealed an alarming deficiency not only physically but as well regarding our low level of average intelligence. If the drafted men represent the total population it will be seen that: First, nearly one-half (forty-five million) never develop beyond the stage represented by the normal twelve-year old child. Second, only thirteen and a half per cent (thirteen and a half million of the one hundred million) ever show superior intelligence.

When we reflect that mental capacity is inherited and that education can do very little to improve this capacity we are in a position to appreciate the gravity of the situation that confronts us. For the first time in our history we have a fairly adequate conception of the low level of the average intelligence of the nation. Any procedure which tends to lower our level of intelligence becomes a supreme menace.

Our practice in regard to immigration has been based on two biological fallacies. Rather there has been a wrong

interpretation of the biological processes occurring.

In the first place we have assumed that general intelligence depended on education, and with compulsory education we were supposed to have solved all our problems. We have now discovered that education can only bring to development the qualities which are potentially present; it cannot increase, appreciably, those potentialities or capacities. Thus new emphasis has been put on innate mental capacity. It should be remembered also that there is a close correspondence between the grade of intelligence and the tendency to crime.

In order to prevent lowering the average intelligence in the United States, which is admittedly low, we should exclude at least the immigrant whose intelligence falls in the grades Inferior (with mental age, eleven) and Very Inferior (with mental age, ten). This could readily be accomplished by applying efficiently not only the usual physical tests but some such mental tests as were given during the war to the drafted men in the service.

A second error relates to the benevolent process of "assimilation" of foreign races that was assumed to occur. It is true that much efficient work can be done in the laudable process of "Americanization" of our immigrants. In educating them towards our ideals much may be done toward removing racial prejudice and cultivating friendly relations with these alien races.

When judged from the standpoint of race betterment, however, it will be seen that this process deals only with the superficial aspects of the problem. It is far removed from any process which could possibly be called "assimilation" as known in biology. In the physiological process of assimilation we digest our food, completely changing its character, and then these products are built into a new structure. The only way we could assimilate a foreign race would be to destroy their hereditary traits, their in-

instincts and cultures and out of these elements to build our own organization. If such a process were possible, we could convert them into our own life and not be converted into theirs. The facts are that in the union of any two races neither assimilates the other, there is merely a blending of the two, an amalgamation, a process vitally different from assimilation. In amalgamation one race is as potent as the other in determining the character of the offspring. The superior race it is true will bring the inferior race to a higher level but it is equally certain that the inferior race will drag the superior down. This amalgamation in the biological sense is also found true regarding foreign cultures. To maintain only the present status of intelligence, physical and social fitness in the United States we shall be compelled to practice rigidly a process of selective immigration.

Among the very numerous ways in which the biologist might join in the movement for the betterment of the race are the following:

1. The biologist will continue with accelerated momentum his search for the underlying principles of evolution and genetics on which a program of race betterment may be builded.

2. He will cooperate with the sociologist and physician in securing data relating to human genetics and compare these findings with results derived from experimental work on the higher animals.

3. He will provide the biological data needed by the educator guiding him in bringing to fuller fruition the heritage we have.

4. His studies should point the way to efficient procedure regarding immigration:

- (1) They will show how potent the alien is in shaping what we shall be.

- (2) They will aid in securing a rational solution of a problem of far-reaching consequence.

## CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL WORK

By CLARENCE E. RAINWATER

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THE TERM social work is used today in many and often conflicting senses. It is defined both as "the adjustment of the individual to his environment" and as "an attitude of mind." It is sometimes said to embrace "social reform" and even "business when it is not conducted solely for pecuniary profit," and at other times to involve only the "salvage and repair service of social economics." Notwithstanding these wide variations in usage, however, there is a growing sense of agreement between social workers and sociologists that the term should designate the entire field of social movements and institutions consciously seeking to promote normal human life. Accordingly, case work—one of the early and common activities—is no longer the distinguishing trait of social work. Social surveys, community recreation, and many other types of mass or group activities are assigned to its field. It is in this recent and broader sense that the term is here employed.

Social work, whether used in the broad or the narrow sense, however, is of "practical" rather than of "scientific" origin. Even now, as in the beginning, the policies of social work involve largely agencies of "common sense." Few mechanisms of critical or "scientific" formulation and verification are employed. But while "practical" measures have been and are yet to a great extent necessary for obvious reasons, this fact affords no justification for the continuance of their use indefinitely. Of this truth many social workers are now aware.

Criticism of the methods of social work has given rise

to several transitions in policy and activities, one of the most important of which was that from remedial to preventative measures. This transition has frequently been indicated by the metaphor with which many social workers are doubtless familiar and by which perhaps too many are content to justify the present methods—it is better to put a fence at the edge of the precipice to *prevent* passers by from slipping over than to place an ambulance at the bottom of the ravine to *restore* those who fall. Childish faith in this generalization of “common sense” has hastened the enactment, during the past two decades, of a considerable amount of social legislation of the “ordering and forbidding type.” This legislation was designed to prevent certain forms of behavior by an act of will, a vestige of monarchical government surviving in our nascent democratic age by the substitution of an abstraction—the will of the people—for the decree of the king. This policy is older than the decalogue. Its epitome is the command “Thou shalt not!” And the path of social evolution is strewn with the wreckage it has wrought.

From the standpoint of applied sociology, which seeks to formulate “scientific” mechanisms for controlling human behavior in behalf of the common welfare, the philosophy of social work has rested upon two fallacies of “common sense”: First that people will develop spontaneously, as one writer has stated it, “tendencies which enable them to profit in a full and uniform way from given conditions and that therefore it is sufficient to create favorable or remove unfavorable conditions in order to give birth to or suppress given tendencies”; and second, “that men will react to the same situation in the same way irrespective of their past,” that is, of their former attitudes and habits. These fallacies explain in large part the failure of much of our social work to produce the expected results. We have been busy inspecting housing,

shortening the working day, pensioning mothers, censoring amusements, and the like, while neglecting to organize social activities through participation in which the desired attitudes and values might have been developed in the minds of the individuals affected. We have been perfecting the fence at the edge of the precipice instead of reorganizing the social situation along the road. This phase of the undertaking is here designated "constructive" social work.

The distinctive contribution which constructive social work brings to the alter of humanitarian service is the provision of social activities, channels through which normal human life may flow more deeply and more widely through the utilization of imitation and suggestion in the place of ordering and forbidding compulsions. Or to change the figure, it raises up patterns of action, copies, to which both individuals and groups may respond in work or play. Constructive social work is not activity in behalf of a particular class or element of the population and certainly not merely that carried on by "persons of superior opportunities for those of inferior abilities," as a recent writer has characterized it. It is an "attitude of mind"; a community attitude, a tendency toward "socialized" behavior by all the members of society. It is the practice of democracy. It is the social awakening and organization of the sympathetic imagination. It is patriotism in peace as noble as any that was ever shown in war. It is business conducted in the spirit of social welfare and religion made an energizing force for the elevation of mankind.

Constructive social work, however, is still in the nascent stage of its development. The rate of its growth will be determined by the progress of applied sociology, and this science requires collective social research involving more extensive experimentation than has heretofore been made in the field of welfare endeavor. In carrying out this program, the position of the field worker becomes strategic.

He must be sociologist as well as a humanitarian for he comes daily into contact with much of the data to be tabulated and later classified and reduced to practical formulation and he it is again under whose eyes the testing of the hypotheses proposed by the sociologists is to be undertaken.

An instructive illustration, from a limited number of similar ones, of the achievements and nature of constructive social work may be seen in the play movement of the United States. Here the constant effort has been to create a social *milieu* for the exercise of the play attitude. Consequently many technical devices have been fashioned, tested, classified and made available to the play director. These tools serve as mechanisms for promoting wholesomeness of leisure in our present social situation. They have proved to be essential compliments to both the provision of physical facilities in which to play and the regulation of commercialized amusements. Thus constructive social work frankly challenges the *laissez faire* implication of preventive philanthropy as it sheds new light upon its time honored fallacies.



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## EDITORIAL NOTES

THIS ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL is four pages larger than the preceding issue and sixteen pages larger than the journal which was promised our initial subscribers eight months ago.

PROFESSOR William Hung of Peking University, who spoke twice in February before the students of the University of Southern California, urged a furtherance of the policy whereby "the United States and China are working together to solidify the peace, not only of the peaceful Pacific, but of the entire world."

DR. RAINWATER's new book, *The Play Movement in the United States*, is commanding attention, not only as an excellent treatment of an important social development, but as a highly significant illustration of sociological method. The analysis of the play movement into stages, transitions, and trends is unique and demonstrates a scientific method that students of other societary movements may utilize to advantage.

THE NEED for such a publication as the JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY has been repeatedly demonstrated in the past few weeks. If thrice the present space in the JOURNAL were available it could be used to good advantage. The best way out of the difficulty is for our friends to assume an increased initiative in giving the JOURNAL publicity and even, if they are willing, to invite subscriptions. Each subscriber to the JOURNAL is receiving three times as much as he is paying for. The subscription price covers only one item of the total cost of publishing the JOURNAL, namely, for the printing. The other two cost factors are the editorial and managerial work, and the contribution of articles, both of which tasks are performed gratuitously.

## News Notes

JOHN R. MOTT, speaking in Los Angeles on February 17, referred to the three great divisive movements of the present time as being represented by the chasms between labor and capital, between races, and between nations; and urged that these tendencies be met by international and world light and faith.

THE FEBRUARY meeting of the Southern California Sociological Society, which was held in Bovard Administration Building, Los Angeles, was addressed by Miss Edythe Simpson, founder of the Los Angeles City Jail school. The speaker analyzed the causes of the anti-social conduct of the adult women who are committed to jail, indicating that their leading offenses are prostitution, the use of drugs, and forging checks.

FRANCIS H. McLEAN, field director of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work spent three days recently in Los Angeles as the guest of the Alliance of Social Agencies, and urged that the social agencies undertake self-surveys in order to establish standards and to clarify the relationships between agencies. He discussed some of the dangers of crass organization of "community chests," insisting that these be primarily in charge of the social agencies themselves, rather than of business representatives.

THE FIRST of a series of conferences on the "Broken Home" as it affects child welfare was held in Los Angeles on January 25, 1922. The conference was called by the Juvenile Protective Association and was led by Willis W. Clark, sociologist of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research at Whittier, California. Homes broken by death or separation and divorce were reported to be among the principal factors creating child welfare problems in Los Angeles. Among the important proposals was that social agencies should make a definite contribution to social work technique and to social welfare by scientific analysis of the factors entering into the problems with which they are dealing. It was concluded that the best way to get at the problem of broken homes is to begin with children and through education to develop in all children new attitudes regarding the social importance of the integrity of the family.

## Book Notes

SOCIAL WORK. By EDWARD T. DEVINE, PH.D., formerly Professor of Social Economy in Columbia University and Director of the New York School of Social Work. Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. 352.

Elementary students of social work and beginners in field practice, as well as general readers, will welcome this volume from the pen of one of America's most distinguished teachers and administrators of social work. More advanced students however, may not always agree with the author in the emphasis upon the "salvage and repair service" traits of social work nor the restrictions imposed upon its motives and agencies, yet they will doubtless regard the book as a whole as the most comprehensive and satisfactory presentation of the subject now available. The chapter on the Standard of Living is especially stimulating. And where the author seems to state personal views rather than those upon which agreement has been reached, the treatment is such as provokes healthy discussion of the points in question. Technical terms have been largely avoided yet the principal concepts have been defined, the agencies classified, and the problems vividly stated. Teachers will welcome the book as a text although its value in that field would have been greatly increased by the inclusion of bibliographies, questions for class discussion, and an attempt to indicate the relation of the art of social work to the basic sciences upon which it relies. Possibly too much attention has been accorded to common sense views, rather than to scientific analysis although even in this respect the book is historically correct as a description of social work past and present.

C. E. R.

PEKING: A SOCIAL SURVEY. Conducted under the auspices of The Princeton University Center in China and The Peking Young Men's Christian Association. By SIDNEY D. GAMBLE, assisted by Stewart Burgess, M.A. George H. Doran Company, 1921, pp.xxiii+538.

This volume is unique in that it is the first attempt to secure accurate data on which to base a program in an Asiatic City. It is significant that the religious workers of Peking recognize that

social problems must be considered and that any program must have a solid foundation in fact. The survey covers a number of the most outstanding problems in the city. Much of the information is of a somewhat general nature which has been secured from a variety of documentary sources. Detailed studies, however, were made of the membership of a certain church and also of a definite area within the city. In presenting the results a number of graphs and photographs are used. From the technical point of view this survey cannot be compared to the surveys of The Russell Sage Foundation, but when one considers the obstacles confronted by this undertaking, the results are most commendable. It is interesting to note some of the results of this pioneer attempt. Before the completion of the field work a Community Service Group was organized which undertook several community activities, and three new districts asked to be surveyed. In addition to this, Constantinople and other centers are following the example. W. C. S.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF CARLYLE AND RUSKIN. By FREDERICK W. ROE, University of Wisconsin. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921, pp. vii+335.

In this unique and valuable treatise, the author succeeds in interpreting the works of two powerful literary personalities of the Victorian Era, not as antiques of academic interest, but as trumpet calls to a re-making of industrial society, to "the humanization of man in society." Carlyle's scorn of the idle and irresponsible rich coupled with his sympathy for the wretched poor led him to justify "the revolt of the enraged masses," but not to develop a faith in the ability of the average man for collective action.

While Carlyle found a solution to the condition in which the labor of the poor is habitually preyed upon by the luxury of the rich in an aristocracy of worthy heroes, his disciple Ruskin was led to promulgate a system of state socialism. Both feared democracy, confusing it with anarchy. The strength of both lies not in the deductions and remedies that were advanced, but in bold, effective delineation of social wrongs. The author has rendered a splendid service in an attractive way. E. S. B.

THE RATIONAL GOOD. By L. T. HOBHOUSE, University of London, Holt and Company, 1921, pp. xxii+237.

Professor Hobhouse points out in this volume the nature of rational ethical concepts from the sociological viewpoint. The rational

good is defined as a mode of life sustained by a harmony of feeling and producing a harmonious fulfilment of vital capacity. Its standards are those which liberate life in fullness and harmony, which cause all good things to be shared, and which advance the good of the individual to the extent that the good of the whole is advanced.

Social institutions are approved by the author, but protested against when as massive structures of human thinking they seem to acquire a value of their own which puts them above the life of individuals. Judged by philosophic standards Dr. Hobhouse has made a commendable contribution to social thought. E. S. B.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. xvii+259.

This book which is dedicated to John Dewey and which contains a four-page publisher's note, criticizing the shortcomings of the treatise, discusses the labor movement as a phenomenon which has risen essentially within capitalism and as a result of capitalism's egotism and arbitrariness. The organization of labor is a revolutionary movement which when perfected will of itself and without consciously sought ends overthrow capitalism by evolutionary means. The labor movement will overcome capitalism in the way that capitalism triumphed over feudalism. The author's understanding of the labor movement will give this book a wide hearing, but he has not pointed out the need of socializing the labor movement, and has not indicated how labor in control, if not socialized, may exhibit the evils comparable to those which capitalism has manifested.

E. S. B.

THE SETTLEMENT IDEA. By ARTHUR C. HOLDEN. Macmillan Company, 1921, pp. xxvii+213.

After referring briefly to the history of social settlements and describing industrial communities in which settlements are located, Mr. Holden analyzes settlement activities, administration, and problems, showing how the social settlement is a project in democracy. The author holds that the settlement plays not merely a transitory role of helping the unfortunate members of society but rightly insists that the settlement movement is a transcendent and successful way of understanding life itself, social problems, and community processes. He succeeds in this attempt to make clear how the settlement idea should be understood by all citizens—and understood as a leading tool for securing social advance. E. S. B.

WHAT IS SOCIAL CASE WORK? By MARY RICHMOND. Russell Sage Foundation, 1922, pp. 268.

The author describes six "cases" in some detail, illustrating problems and methods of treatment, using the term case in the sense of the social situation and referring to the individual in need as a client. On the basis of these six cases, Miss Richmond analyzes several factors that are involved in case work, such as human interdependence, individual differences, and home conditions. Four "insights" are noted as being essential to case work, namely, into personality, into the nature of the social environment, into the direct action of mind, and into the indirect action of environment upon mind. The relation of case work to group work, social reform, and social research is shown. The author has produced a helpful and essentially scientific treatment of her theme. E. S. B.

THE HUMAN FACTOR IN BUSINESS. By B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE. Longmans, Green, and Co., 1921, pp. ix+176.

After mentioning the fact that in one year in England, a total of 11,491,000 working days were lost through strikes and lock-outs, the author, a celebrated manufacturer, relates how the Cocoa Works, York, have been solving the labor-capital problem. The author recommends five methods: (1) guaranteeing workers earnings sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of comfort; (2) shortening hours of work; (3) guaranteeing reasonable economic security during the whole working life and in old age; (4) providing good working conditions; and (5) giving to the workers a share in the control of industry. Throughout the description the author maintains a thoughtful, evolutionary, open-minded attitude.

THE EUGENIC PROSPECT. By C. W. SALEEBY. Dodd, Mead and Company, 1921, pp. 239.

In this book the author carries forward his standards of eugenics, especially his emphasis upon preventive eugenics, or his plea for protecting parenthood from the racial poisons, into a wide range of popular themes, such as, the beauty of health, the largest price of war, the coal-smoke curse, and our solar income. This popularization of eugenics which extends far beyond the field of scientific eugenics is dedicated to Anglo-American friendship and selects some of the better phases of American life as examples for English adoption in order that the dysgenic factors in English life may be overcome.

THE COMMUNITY. By EDWARD C. LINDEMAN, North Carolina College for Women, Association Press, 1921, pp. ix+222.

Community leadership and community organization are the two main themes of this book, in which protest is offered against control from the top or outside instead of control from within communities themselves. A keen understanding is shown of the social psychology of community movements, a good analysis is given of types of communities, and a helpful program is advanced for organizing communities.

SYMPATHY AND SYSTEM IN GIVING. By ELWOOD STREET. McClurg and Co., 1921, pp. 161.

The days of Lady Bountiful giving to her private poor are gone forever asserts the author. System is made the keynote of all giving, through agencies that have investigated and properly placed individual and social needs for help. The author combines happily the principles of business organization and social service in giving.

E. M. B.

WHITTIER SOCIAL CASE HISTORY MANUAL. By WILLIAMS, CLARK, COVERT, and BRYANT. Bureau of Juvenile Research, Whittier, California, 1921, pp. 98.

This pamphlet is a valuable guide for social workers interested in a scientific preparation of individual and family social case histories. It presents detailed methods for the analysis of cases, including three sample histories, which give data on each individual for three generations, showing by charts some of the effects of heredity.

A. M. F.

HISTORY OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES. By JOHN R. COMMONS and associates. The Macmillan Company, 2 vols., xxv+623, xx+620, 1921.

These volumes are a reprint of the first edition that appeared in 1918. This work has established itself as a descriptive and authentic analysis of the labor movement in the United States. At no point do the authors stray from the voluminous source materials at their command in depicting the story of the evolution in the United States of the wage-earner and his attitudes.

## Round Table Notes

Men cannot exist in their present numbers on the earth without world co-operation. *Graham Wallas*.

The creation of social intelligence and character in the individual is the heart of our problem. *Ellwood*.

We are all aggrieved by the illegal opulence of the profiteers, but we are all liable to the infection. *Rathenau*.

You might liken society to a party of men with lanterns making their way by night through an immeasurable forest. *Cooley*.

The rational good is not the good of the individual as an independent unit, it is the good of the whole of which he forms a part. *Hobhouse*.


Play is a mode of human behavior, either individual or collective, involving pleasurable activity of any kind not undertaken for the sake of a reward beyond itself. *Rainwater*.

No society can afford permanently to support a mass of idlers made up of the unemployed rich, those engaged in useless occupations, and the commonplace tramp, criminal, and pauper. *Dealey*.


Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment. *Mary E. Richmond*.

Democracy is not only government of the people, by the people, and for the people—but all of education, all of privilege, of wealth, of leisure, of culture; in short, all of life under God was meant to be of the people and growingly to be administered by the people. *Sherwood Eddy*.





# JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY



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## A CALL FOR THE SOCIAL PURITAN

By GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

*Professor of Political Science and Sociology, University of Nebraska.*

IN a preceding article<sup>1</sup> it was suggested that many of the precious assets won for civilization by sociology have been gained at the expense of the predatory interests; and that the transitory conditions following the world war are putting these assets in jeopardy. As always after a great war, reaction is the order of the day. Antisocial forces are released; and for a season the predatory classes have an opportunity to recoup their losses. Reactionaries are able to "filch from the public its liberal beliefs"; for confusion of ideas and insecurity are the "chemical compound on which the reactionary thrives while the liberal is poisoned."<sup>2</sup> Clearly the teacher of social righteousness will have need of all his wisdom and all his courage, if he would provide efficient leadership in facing the dangers of the present crisis. For mighty enemies of the common welfare which for decades have been gradually yielding to

<sup>1</sup>Sociology: Its Critics and Its Fruits," in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, April, 1922, pp. 1-12.

<sup>2</sup>See *The New Republic*, March 15, 1922, pp. 66-67.

the stirring of the quickened social conscience are suddenly displaying new vigor.

In our land, for instance, has there ever been so shocking a rage of money-madness or so wicked an orgy of senseless luxury as now degrades American society? The greedy profiteer is having his hour. Wantonly committed are the sins of commercialism: in last analysis, very often found to be the basic motive of social reaction. Day by day the newspaper brings to us the monotonous story of its grosser evil deeds: Shameless breaches of trust, gigantic plunderbunds, vast "confidence" schemes for ensnaring unwary greed! Moreover, is not the quality of our ordinary mercantile ethics in danger? Because of the chaos of economic conditions and the turmoil of conflicting ideas, the social conscience is bewildered. Even more than before the world-catastrophe, we are floundering between two standards of ethics: a standard of abstract or private morality and a standard of commercial or business morality. Between the two Mammon finds his opportunity. Morally how many men are leading double lives! Every day one may see the role of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde enacted between the home and the market-place. Sometimes the private conscience and the trade conscience are two.

Again, is there not danger that a low standard of Americanism may be set up? No doubt there is crying need that the ideal of citizenship—of civic duty—should be raised. By all means let us demand "one hundred percent Americanism" of the right kind. But what of the variety of which the vociferous jingo politician so often boasts? Would not its selfishness, its narrowness, unfit America for that leadership in world-civilization to which it may justly aspire? Again, freedom of speech and discussion are the safeguards of democracy which should not be abridged unless, possibly, in the direst emergency of

actual war; yet at the present moment, three years after armistice day, is not that freedom menaced, sometimes actually coerced, especially when directly or indirectly it would be harmful to selfish political or commercial interests? Witness the proposals to restrict the liberty of teaching in the case of social questions. Formerly the sociologist was stigmatized as a "muck-raker," though it should have been clear that the evil consists, not in the raking, but in the making of muck. Now he is frequently branded as a "bolshevist" or a "red," if he dares to suggest any plan which seriously touches the preserves of the commercial or predatory classes. Has it indeed come to this in America that it is unpatriotic to be a social "uplifter" or a "radical" reformer of politics? True Americanism does not consist in mutilating our historical records by delivering our school text-books to the hazardous censorship of so called "patriotic bodies"; nor does genuine patriotism consist in stifling the free discussion of our constitution and government through partisan or fanatical legislation. Such political bigotry hath its fellow in religious bigotry and conceit. The "pompous solemnities of the Lusk law fall off to the attempts of the Kentucky legislators to regulate the teachings of science; and college presidents who welcome the former, send messages of ridicule to the latter, although the road is straight from the one to the other."<sup>3</sup>

The "profiteer" who fattens on the people's needs, hath his fellow in the "patrioteer" who exploits "Americanism" for partisan or other selfish ends.

Race prejudice is the most hateful and the most harmful of human sentiments; and in all ages it has been a fruitful cause or excuse for exploitation and war. Is it not amazing, then, at the very moment when the President was inviting a conference of the nations, in the hope of

<sup>3</sup>See *The New Republic*, March 15, 1922, pp. 66-67.

lessening the dangers of future wars, that race antagonism should be fostered in our own land? In the South and sometimes elsewhere Black men are burned—though black soldiers rivaled the heroism of white soldiers on the battlefields of France; while on the Pacific coast Brown men are denied economic justice and reckless journalists, in effect if not in purpose, by alleging imaginary motives, have created the fear of war between the Brown man's country and the United States.

The social psychologist has conclusively demonstrated the vast power of suggestion in shaping behavior; especially in directing the conduct of the child. Now, it is not strange that the great war, like all wars, should be followed by a period of increased immorality and crime, especially crimes of violence; but it is strange that civilized communities should encourage practices which through suggestion tend to foster these evils. Tolerated are "gun-play" in the movies and military drill in schools. Parents are putting toy-pistols into the hands of their little sons. Public games or sports suggesting violence are on the increase. Schools and colleges are providing training in boxing, wrestling, and fencing as parts of the regular program in "physical culture." The film of the Dempsey-Carpentier prize-fight, one of the most brutal exhibitions in recent times, is exploited for weeks in theatres before the admiring eyes of boys; and a newspaper item alleges the almost incredible folly of a teacher who, it avers, uses that film for the instruction of pupils in the "manly art" of self-defence. Is it surprising that "hold-ups" and murders by boys in their 'teens are of frequent occurrence; and that little children have committed homicides?

Another incident may illustrate how commercialism is willing to hazard the public morals for the sake of money. The moving picture industry is abusing one of the miraculous inventions of science—an invention with immense

beneficent possibilities for education and for dramatic art—by productions which menace the public morals, especially by suggesting vicious ideals in the plastic minds of boys and girls. For protection the community very sensibly proposes to censor the films. In the newspapers of the city which boasts of being the chief center of the industry the proposal is unblushingly denounced because censorship might hamper a business which spends much money in local trade; gold weighed against the souls of youth! Moreover, in this case as in many others appeal is made to an alluring fallacy which often deceives the crowd. "You can't make people better by law." This is the prompt cry of conservatism, the moment the reformer attempts to call legislation to his aid. Practically speaking, the assertion is false. You can make people better by law; for instance, by removing temptations or by providing opportunities. Laws resisting "personal liberty," "blue laws" if the stigma please you better, may be taken as one measure of progress from savagery to barbarism and from barbarism to civilization; while constructive social legislation is another measure of advancing human welfare.

Verily there is urgent need of a spiritual awakening. The times are calling loudly for the social puritan. With all his narrowness and intolerance, the puritan of the seventeenth century was quite capable of teaching us a great moral lesson. He exalted the dignity of man. He strove with all his might to emancipate the individual soul from the tyranny of bishop-graft and king-graft; for, in fact, his adversary was but our adversary clothed in different garb. He refused to temper the rigor of his assault in order that he might share in the enemy's cakes and ale. For the sake of his ideals, he knew how to face poverty and contumely and the scaffold. Truly, exclaimed old Cromwell to his second parliament, "The mind is the man!

If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief." The "whole spirit of puritanism," says Gardiner, "lay in these words." Not quite all; for Cromwell, the noblest product of puritanism, was able clearly to perceive that the true measure of individual liberty is social liberty. To render "many poor to make a few rich"—rang out his stinging rebuke to the grafters of the Long Parliament—"that suits not a Commonwealth."

The regime of social puritanism will come, let us earnestly resolve, through evolution and not through revolution, through right reason and not through catastrophe. Our hope is a more effectual mental, moral, and social training of the young; a training which shall grapple with actualities—with the real social forces, good and bad, which move the world. Every honest man and woman must share in the toil and in the self-sacrifice necessary for social regeneration. In particular, the apostle of social righteousness must be the scholar, especially the courageous teacher. For the absolute conditions of progress are liberty and light, free speech and knowledge.

It is needful to preach the ethics, the idealism, which shall reveal the wickedness of unsocial conduct; to teach that the perversion of institutions is social felony; to repudiate the double standard of morality, denouncing deceit and cunning and treachery and chicane and greed and theft in the market-place as well as in the home; to value dollars less than ideals; to exalt personality above bank accounts; to raise a new standard of success, so that large assets in the common stock of human happiness may count as a more worthy life-investment than a billion in syndicate shares.

The teacher of social puritanism must be capable of renouncing success as measured by the commercial stand-



ard. He will distrust the cry of those who preach the selfish doctrine of social contentment and self-glorification; who cry peace, peace, when there is no peace. Wittingly or unwittingly they are in alliance with the enemy. History reveals no justification at all for the social quietism which sees in the wicked perversion of institutions only the inscrutable wisdom of a divinely appointed order. The smug complacency of the ignorant or interested optimist is a stumbling block to moral progress. Ceaseless vigilance and unflinching struggle are the price of social advancement. The zealous puritan knows no compromise with social sinning; but unceasingly he smites the grafter, the profiteer, and the patrioteer hip and thigh. For in reality these are slowly strangling civilization, perverting those very institutions which constitute America's precious trust for humanity.

The social puritan conceives an ideal of democracy which embraces, not merely political, but also social, economic, and industrial liberty; which includes in its strivings the whole welfare of mother, father, and child; which fosters an Americanism broad enough and deep enough to promote the common welfare of mankind.

## THE USE OF INTELLIGENCE TESTS IN A EUGENICS PROGRAM

By MARTIN J. STORMIZAND

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Various experimental studies since the pioneer investigations by Sir Francis Galton have led students of social science to accept the principle that mental ability or disability is, to a large degree, inherited from immediate ancestry. There is still a wide margin of disagreement as to the relative amount of mental inheritance, but the fact of a considerable hereditary influence is no longer disputed.

Moreover, the ability to measure, grade, and classify intelligence, at least to a sufficient degree of exactness for practical purposes, is now also accepted.

Social studies have compelled us to recognize the importance of race improvement, not merely on the physical side, but on the mental as well. The social need of the development, training, and utilization of the highest mental ability for leadership, especially in a democratic society, has been emphasized by the challenge of numerous recent social and political crises. The danger to society, on the other hand, of perpetuating, nay, multiplying, undesirable or dangerous mental strains, has been pointed out by race-betterment leaders, and has even found some expression in legal enactments.

The foregoing paragraphs outline the underlying facts of a serious social condition. We know a danger or a need; we know its chief, or one of its chief causes; we possess a reliable agency for the detection and diagnosis of the cause. Social self-protection demands a fearless, though reasonably cautious, interpretation into individual

and official action to control the operation of hereditary mental ability and disability. The only opposing force, serious enough it will appear, is a traditional social sentimentality; serious enough, because it is backed by the "sanctity of selfishness" and by the organization of institutionalized religion.

If we can satisfactorily detect and define mental superiority of a degree that will be able to serve society in an exceptional way, and if we can detect mental deficiency of a degree that makes it a menace to society if permitted to follow its own whim, we have a background and a justification for intelligent, constructive, and moral social program in the field of eugenics. The program will involve three distinct phases:

- (1) A recognition, amounting to official sanction, of the intelligence test as a means of mental diagnosis.

- (2) Steps to improve the opportunities for superior intelligence, and to encourage the mating of superior with superior strains for the possible improvement of leadership in future generations.

- (3) The prevention of the propagation of strains so inferior that they are either a social burden or menace.

It will be the principal purpose of the present discussion to justify the first step in such a program, the official sanction of intelligence tests as a basis for social action.

Intelligence testing and the eugenics movement started together. They are divergent results of the same experiments. The work of Sir Francis Galton, in his studies of twins, and of eminent men, and of types of mind, gave impetus to three of the most important phases of present-day educational and social science, the two movements named above and as a by-product, certain phases of statistical technique, which have made the scientific study of both mentality and heredity possible.

The stages in the development of the intelligence testing

movement may be briefly outlined, as one of the best arguments for its availability as a serious factor in eugenic control.

(1) Galton's objective, statistical studies (in the early '80's) of mental abilities, and of persons from the point of view of mental endowment opened the question of mental diagnosis and furnished valuable suggestions in technique.

(2) The former resulted in the efforts to make statistical analyses of various psychical powers or abilities. A contributing cause and factor in this type of psychological analysis was the laboratory method of Wundt (1879) and the succeeding psycho-physicists.

(3) These beginnings in England and Germany are next transferred to America and France. Dr. Cattell, at Columbia University, began to make some mental analysis of entering students on the basis of particular or isolated mental abilities, the technique for the testing of which had been evolved by the earlier experimental and analytical stages.

(4) In France the same psychological analysis sprang into a full-fledged practical intelligence test in the work of Binet (1905-1911). The previous laboratory studies were elaborated into widely selected group of mental "stunts," which, by several years of patient experimentation, were finally arranged into a "scale," each division of which represents the average ability of children of a certain age. This scale thus furnishes a standard or form for measuring any child,—we can now define his mental ability in terms of his "mental age," regardless of his chronological age.

(5) The next, and practically all the succeeding, stages of development in intelligence testing have been worked out in this country. The evolution now became so rapid as to endanger the movement as a "fad" and to cast doubts

on its practicability, in spite of steady and painstaking improvements. (The development of intelligence testing is not to be confused or identified with a parallel movement in educational testing, i. e. in testing the product or results of a pupil's work in various school subjects. This movement had an independent origin, and though a common technique and frequent correlations are found between intelligence and school achievement tests, there is no necessary identification as far as our present discussion is concerned.)

(6) The revision, imitation, and modification of Binet's Scale for the *individual* testing of mental ability, especially of children, followed. Some of these modifications made considerable departures from the technique or material of Binet. But the most valuable improvement was the Leland Stanford Revision of the Binet Scale by Dr. Lewis M. Terman. This adhered to the technique and material of the original scale as closely as a patient and painstaking experimental study and use showed advisable; made considerable improvement by supplementing and rearranging; and, most important of all, advanced the method of scoring to an expression showing the relation of mental age to chronological age in a term now widely accepted as the most practical index of mental ability, the "Intelligence Quotient."

(7) The evolution of this individual testing into the testing of *groups* represents the next stage, which had just about been perfected when our country entered the war. The first few years of group intelligence testing is the story of the Army Scale Alpha.

(8) The demonstration of the practical validity of such intelligence testing by the army experimenters led to a rapid application of the principle to mental tests for school purposes. A half dozen different tests of this sort are now being used as fast as publishers can supply them,

and for one series, worked out by a number of educators in co-operation, the call at present is far ahead of the publisher's ability to turn them out.

(9) In most of the intelligence tests worked out up to the present time the emphasis has been on the testing of "ability to learn," especially in the conventional school environment, with a strong emphasis on what may be termed the verbal or symbolical elements. It is true that parallel with this verbal evolution of Binet's work there has also been considerable effort to work out so-called "performance" tests, in which the language factor is eliminated. The work of Seguin, Porteus, Healy, Knox, and Pintner sketches this development, which is now used rather as a composite of elements contributed by successive experimenters than a unified evolution into a perfected type.

This verbal character of the intelligence tests, as well as the reliance on a rather academic type of developmental experiences and information, has led to criticisms of inadequacy, and will probably eventuate in extensions or improvements. Thorndike's analysis of "intelligence" as mechanical, intellectual or academic, and social, has probably pointed the way for the next step in the testing of intelligence. Tests looking to the evaluation of social, emotional, and moral abilities or weaknesses are already beginning to appear on the market.

The implication of present imperfection involved in the possibility of further improvement is not serious enough to weaken the argument for their use in a eugenics program. In intelligence testing so far, all facts of mentality may not be reflected, but the work has found the most important phase of its problem. What we are testing is the dominant factor in mental life, and correlation studies have been extended over such a variety of other factors, notably the social abilities, that a judgment based on our

present instruments need seldom fear reversal by a more direct or more complete test. Such correlations have been presented in studies that look to both extremes, mental superiority and subnormality. It is a significant comment to make by the way that both phases of this experimentation have found their most significant expressions in our own state, the former in the work of Dr. Terman at Leland Stanford, the latter in the work of Dr. Williams at Whittier.

During the experimental stages and in the practical uses that have been made of the tests, two facts, significant for our argument here, stand out. The intelligence tests have been demonstrated to be a valid measure of the thing they are intended to measure, general mental ability, and repeated applications of the tests to large numbers of individuals over the whole range of mental ability from idiocy to genius have shown such remarkable degrees of consistency and reliability that measurement has actually been placed on the plane of prognosis as well as diagnosis. The validity has been shown by comparisons with every type of judgment that the world values as practical criteria of intelligence. In the case of school children the correlations of the verdict of tests with the most deliberate and impartial estimates by persons whose judgments were based on a most intimate acquaintance, furnish one line of evidence that has given implicit confidence in the intelligence tests. The actual performances of tested children in later real-life situations furnish another strong line of confirmation. The prophecies made by experimenters in the form of definite written commitments have been fulfilled in such a large percentage of cases as to establish the principle of "the constancy of the intelligence quotient" as a highly reliable basis for educational guidance.

The use of intelligence tests has largely been restricted

up to the present to a few fields of activity. The public schools have made wide use of them, both for administrative purposes and as an aid in teaching. The next most common use has probably been in the field of delinquency, especially among juveniles. The institutions for feeble-minded, largely responsible for some of the important stages in the development of the tests, have made much use of them for purposes of grading the unfortunates under their care and of adapting their treatment to the different levels of subnormality. High hopes are held and wide experimentation is being carried on with the tests in the vocational guidance and industrial selection fields. Little headway has been made here because the tests cannot yield a sufficiently specific diagnosis of abilities. The whole spirit of such tests is in the direction of testing *general* intelligence.

A detailed description of the uses to which tests are put in some of these fields would be out of place, but a general estimate of the significance of such uses will furnish an argument for their application in the field under discussion.

Intelligence tests are being used, both in schools and in the courts, as a basis for the most vital decisions in the life of children. On the basis of such tests pupils are promoted to skip grades of school work; they are selected for transfer from regular to special school work; such assignment to special school work often meaning isolation in a room or school for feeble-minded.

In the same way many juvenile court officers attach such weight to the intelligence test that it may be said to be the most important factor in making the child a ward of the state in one of its institutions.

In short, we are officially or semi-officially, segregating the "unfits" on the basis of mental incapacity as well as on the basis of moral or social delinquency.



On the side of the racial undesirables it seems but a short step from such decisions to the deliberate policy of preventing heredity in the matter of mental subnormality. Whether our preventive step is to be colonization, sterilization, or any other means, we can easily, and we should, officially recognize the means at hand for determining the subjects for such social prophylaxis.

With the group at the other extreme of the mental range we do not want to take official measures. But we should probably advocate an individual idealism in the matter. We may argue the desirability of avoiding a mating of extreme mental inequalities (abnormality being out of consideration altogether). We may argue this reasonably on the mere basis of domestic compatibility and happiness, or we may elevate it to the basis of a social ideal for race betterment from the mental point of view.

As soon as we suggest such an idealism, or such a preventative, sentiment steps to the front with a variety of half-truths and traditions and misinterpretations.

Would you violate "the sanctity of human life" on the basis of a fallible instrument? The instrument may have a border line of fallibility, but we may apply it in a sphere where no one can longer claim the benefit of the doubt. Reasonable safeguards may be set in selecting the subnormals subject to preventive measures. And the sanctity of human life is a pious abstraction that may be violated for millions in wars for democracy or even for institutionalized religion. But the abstract "human life" becomes a maudlin excess when you argue that it gives imbecility a sanction to propagate its kind.

Without some such official recognition of the standard by which society shall select those against whose multiplication it must guard, the first step will never be made in an intelligent eugenics program. The folly of the present situation lies in the fact that all these menaces are already

known, identified, graded. They are coached and coddled and boosted all through the public school years. They are given special rooms and equipment and special teachers, higher-paid teachers. Yet they cannot be raised out of their incapacity. They can be made contented, and, on the higher moron levels, useful to the point of self-support. But they can never be trained out of the possibility, the almost certainty, of propagating *their own mental* kind, and usually in larger numbers than the normal average. Yet after the public school has identified and isolated them, sometimes after juvenile courts and institutions for delinquents have supervised them through adolescence, they are turned loose on society in adulthood, to live lives of uncontrolled license, or irresponsible menace. It seems the most reasonable thing in a sane social program that the "graduate" of a room for feeble-minded in the public school should be automatically promoted to the adult colony of his own kind.

We may have a feeling that we should not do this on the basis of selection by intelligence tests, but we cannot bring that sentiment into the light of our reasonable experiences and experiments with these tests and continue to respect that sentiment.

## SOCIAL PROGRAMS AND RURAL LIFE

By NEWELL L. SIMS

*Professor of Rural Sociology, Massachusetts Agricultural College*

DURING the great war American agriculture and the farming population came into new prominence. Food and food producers for the first time in our national history began really to concern city dwellers. During this crisis there was born also a new interest in reform. Under the name of "reconstruction" this new interest has been made to "carry on" as an aftermath of the crisis in a variety of uplift projects. It was but natural, with the new interest city people had acquired in things rural, that a generous portion of the reform effort should be focussed upon the country districts.

The number of organizations having rural programs is reported to be more than a score. Mr. Bradford Knapp, a well-known representative of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, engaged in field work and in a position to know, declared last year that his office had listed twenty-six separate and distinct agencies in this field. All, with the exception of the government itself, which is included in the list, are volunteer organizations. Among them, to mention only a few of the better known, are: The Y. M. C. A., The Red Cross, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, The War Camp Community Service, Council of National Defense, and The International Harvester Company. The question arises: Is there room for so many? Notwithstanding the fact that "the country" is a pretty large place, it is extremely doubtful, with the methods of procedure in vogue, if all can operate without duplication and overlapping of effort from

which jealousy and conflict will sooner or later arise to nullify much of the work undertaken. If a wise division of labor and the proper co-ordination of effort could be established, it is conceivable that each might find a legitimate place and function usefully. But there is nothing of this sort in sight. Although we have had Country Life Conferences, we have not yet reached the point of federating these agencies and gerrymandering the field. And until such a juncture is reached, it would seem to be the part of wisdom for some of these organizations to stay out of the field or even to withdraw, if already in it.

As an illustration of too much duplication, a certain Southern rural country known to the writer may be cited. Here a wide-awake County Agricultural Agent is promoting among other things farmers' organizations and community recreation. At the county seat an active Chamber of Commerce with a paid secretary is devoting itself to improving rural conditions and to furthering social and economic enterprises in the country. Then the Y. M. C. A. has come and put a secretary on the ground, with a country-wide play and "get-together" program for the community. A strong bid is being made for public support. A local branch of the National Council of Defense also is there urging the citizens of the country to raise money to support a visiting nurse for the country. The State Federation of Women's Clubs is likewise on hand seeking to organize the farm women. Finally, the local chapter of the Red Cross has been striving to maintain itself and to launch out upon a program of organization for health, recreation, and the like. Most of these agencies are war-time importations in the country, and their rural programs are new projects. So far, there has been an indifferent response to their rural plans, and the indications are that all the volunteer agencies will fail. And this in an unusual county where the agencies are concentrating

their efforts in order to make it a "model county," as they have declared.

The rural programs of the several organizations in the field at large are concerned with numerous things; such as, health and sanitation, recreation, community organization, economic, educational, and religious improvement; all good enough in themselves and in entire harmony with the general needs of the country. And if realized they would work a far-reaching and highly desirable rural revolution. But after all, when they are critically examined, the specific programs are perhaps too often ill-advised. And there is an impression abroad that somehow they smack strongly of an effort just to keep organizations going for the sake of social workers on the job and to make work rather than to meet the actual needs or expressed demands. Nor is this to be thought strange when it is remembered that more than likely they have been made in Washington or New York by men who would be utterly lost among the cotton plantations of the South, the wheat ranches of the West, or the corn fields of the Central States. These men may or may not have sought the advice of rural experts. And if they have, it cannot be assumed that this advice was wise or adequate; or, even if both, that it has been followed. Viewed in the most favorable light, the programs are, it would seem, for the most part little more than ready-made schemes for uplifting the farmer, to be imposed upon him from above, and from without his community. Thus the whole question of method in dealing with the problems of country life is at once raised.

It may be possible for an uplift agency to impose a social program upon city dwellers. And, in truth, it may be possible at critical times with governmental sanction and assistance to impose one upon the whole people including both city and country folks alike; for this we saw done

during the war. But normally, it is not possible to impose anything of the sort upon countrymen. Although it is a method not infrequently tried, it has almost always failed. Of this rather important fact our program-makers are apparently unaware. Indeed, trained agricultural leaders themselves often overlook or ignore this principle in their enthusiasm for some project. A case in point was of relatively recent occurrence in one of the great agricultural states of the South, where the County agents projected a most admirable scheme for "community congresses," which they proposed to introduce into all the rural counties of the commonwealth for the benefit of the farmers. The scheme was an excellent plan for local community, county, and state organization of farmers, but it got no further than the paper on which it was printed for the reason that it began at the top instead of at the bottom. It was the brain-product of state officials, and not the development and outgrowth of social conditions in the local communities of the state. In other words, it did not reckon with the farmer himself, his social habits, feeling of need, and the local environment under which he lives. It therefore failed. Its author had proceeded under the delusion that all that was needed by the country districts was organization, and that a perfect plan had only to be devised and promoted, to succeed in solving the country-life problem. They had not discovered that community—the spirit of community—is antecedent to organization, and that without first creating it, all country programs beyond this are futile. They had not learned what every social scientist knows and what every projector of rural organization must not overlook; namely, the fact that most social organization that functions is of slow growth out of the "mores" of a people, and very seldom can be created. Above all, they had not observed that the country is the place where personality rather than organization always functions.

Students of rural life are pretty much agreed that the improvement of country conditions turns upon local community leadership; that it is a matter of teachers, ministers, trained farmers, etc., who have a vision of better things for their communities and who know how to set about getting them. It is further agreed that such leaders are few or practically negligible. This is another important reason why the schemes for rural uplift so often fail, and this is in part why the programs which we have been considering cannot often be imposed, and are destined to futility if they are tried. Some agencies are indeed endeavoring to train "rural social workers." They have been advertising for students to take short courses, and are in some measure providing that training. This, indeed, is "hitting the trail" that leads to the heart of the country problem, but I fear the goal will never be reached with a hastily improvised leadership drawn, as under the circumstances it is almost sure to be, from the cities and towns, under the impression that the country affords a place for "social workers" even as does the city. To train leaders is the thing to do, but they must be country-bred and thoroughly equipped with a knowledge of rural conditions. Such furnishings cannot be had in a few weeks; they can be acquired only through long experience and through courses of study. If, then, some of the national bodies concerned with the country will direct their funds and energies toward training country-bred youth for leadership and social service in rural schools, churches, and so on, they will thereby prove themselves much more far-sighted and efficient agencies for rural social betterment than they possibly can be by dissipating their efforts on furthering programs of "social work" that often cannot be carried out successfully.

Perhaps, however, it is quite as important for us to ask concerning the attitude of country people themselves to-

ward any and all schemes designed for their benefits as it is to generalize about the shortcomings of the programs. That inquiry the writer has been able to make in the course of rather extensive travel throughout several of the chief agricultural states during the past year. On these journeys direct contacts were made with numerous rural leaders, such as teachers, ministers, farm agents, agents of the States Relation Service, agricultural experts, extension workers, various state boards dealing with rural problems, and many farmers themselves. An effort was made to get the reaction of all toward these agencies and the schemes under discussion. A very free expression of feeling and opinion was found everywhere. The general sentiment was opposition to those agencies which have recently turned to rural reforms. To a certain extent, no doubt, this probably comes from the natural conservatism of the farmer, which makes him an opponent of innovations of almost every kind. But in addition, there was another outstanding factor; namely, a revulsion against being regulated, mobilized, organized, lined up for "drives," solicited for this, that, and the other thing, appealed to, dictated to, investigated, and advised. A rather acute sensitiveness on these points was frequently manifested, and expressed itself in such utterances as: "We have been bothered to death and want to be let alone"; "The war is over; we have done our part and have quit." When the question of certain organizations entering upon a peacetime program for the country districts was broached, almost invariably the reply in effect was about as a certain Mississippi farmer put it: "Who do you think is going to pay for it? We ain't; and what's more, we don't need it." The one impression left was that a revolt is brewing among the farmers against too much uplift. This was found to be the opinion of the wide-awake country-life leaders everywhere. They all were asking, Who is going to pay



the bill which will be presented by these score or more of reform movements? "The farmer, of course," was the reply, "and the farmer will balk straight off." Thus, no doubt, will many of the rural uplifters be put down by the refusal of the subjects of uplift to pay for benefits supposedly conferred.

An instance of actual community experience with some of the organizations under review will, perhaps, illuminate the situation far better than any amount of general statements. A certain rural county was some months ago entered by the Y. M. C. A., through its state and national representatives proposing to do what it calls "county work." A recreation, community—"get-together" and organization program was outlined; a committee headed by a local minister selected to put the scheme into effect; and the minister sent to a training conference to imbibe the "Y" spirit. Upon his return a campaign well-manned and directed by outsiders was launched to raise money for the support of a secretary and to establish the work. Meetings, advertising, and demonstrations of community play were resorted to in the course of the "drive." But the whole effort fell flat. The people were not interested. Very little money was secured, and the project had to be abandoned. Many said they did not see the "good of the thing," and did not want something started that would always be begging for money.

Almost simultaneously in the same county the Red Cross tried to put the local chapter on a permanent peacetime program. It proposed to engage in general welfare work, including the promotion of community organization, recreation, and poor relief. A paid secretary, together with a visiting nurse, were to be employed, and the county was to raise the money to supplement the small fund already on hand for this purpose. The local committee, announcing this program as being that of the National Red Cross

Organization for peace-time work, solicited public approval and support through the press, in mass meetings and otherwise. But pronounced opposition to perpetuating this organization and to saddling the county with the cost of its maintenance arose. It was felt that the Red Cross was a war-time necessity, but a peace-time superfluity and extravagance. The final winding-up of the chapter was the speedy result. And the last general canvass for members and funds in 1919 was openly denounced even from some pulpits in the county, and was given a pretty cold reception generally.

In this county the two organizations mentioned sought to impose a scheme somebody from afar thought the country needed. The programs represented the outside reaching in to solve local problems, and they failed because the public neither desired the uplift, nor would pay for the same. Each agency, moreover, was proposing to duplicate at least in part the work of the other. At the same time the County Agricultural Agent was carrying out parts of the programs of both. This agent, supported by taxation, a practical farmer, trained agriculturist, and well-taught rural sociologist, is successfully developing local community spirit through recreation, neighborhood meetings, and so forth, which are gradually leading to effective community organization for general welfare purposes. His work meets with public approval and a fairly hearty response due to the fact that, beginning at the bottom, it builds only as there is a well-laid foundation.

It may be said that the case cited is exceptional, but according to the writer's information there are many other rural districts that have had similar experiences. And unless his knowledge is mostly wrong, the number will greatly increase as the various agencies seek to carry out programs.

Anyhow, the farmer feels that he is already paying for

all the reform he can stand when he is taxed to support the government undertakings, both state and federal, which are working for rural betterment. The Department of Agriculture, the agricultural colleges, the state board of education, health, charity, road commissions, etc., are all being paid for by taxation to serve him, and the farmer feels these are quite enough. But if more are needed, he is asking, why can't the existing public agencies furnish them? He really wonders why volunteer organizations should come at all into his community and ask him to pay for efforts which are more or less duplications of the things the state is trying to do, and which he honestly believes the state can and ought to do alone. Nor, is this attitude on the farmer's part in the least discouraged by agents of the Department of Agriculture and directors of extension service in the states. In fact, these officials are consciously or unconsciously carrying on a subtle propaganda against volunteer agencies—whether from purely disinterested motives and justly or not, is an open question. At any rate, their attitude helps greatly to reinforce the farmer's prejudice against volunteer reform which lays a tribute upon his pocketbook.

In conclusion, let it be emphasized that it is far from the writer's intention to disparage the operation of any and all volunteer reform effort in country districts. The purpose of this article is to report the situation as it seems to exist or as it has appeared to the writer and to offer a few suggestions from the rural viewpoint. There can be no doubt as to the need for rural betterment whether the rank and file of rural dwellers themselves acknowledge it or not or whether they want it or not. However, it is a counsel of wisdom on the part of an agency to give careful consideration to all the conditions before attempting "social work" in the country. And it is to be hoped that more of such counsel will prevail among all contemplating it.

# THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

By MELVIN J. VINCENT

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EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY may be said in brief to be that study which deals with the application of sociological principles to the problems of education. Sociology deals with human associations; the processes of group development and group improvement are of paramount importance in the study. Since education has been designed primarily to prepare the individual for efficient usefulness to himself and to the groups in which he may have membership, the relationship between it and sociology becomes at once apparent.

It is the business of the school to produce socialized individuals, that is, human beings who will work, not against, but with and for, their fellows. Sociology endeavors to discover those principles of association which lay the foundation for a living-together that will result in a greater and an increased happiness. *Social efficiency* being the watchword of the day, education can hardly be said to be functioning properly, if indeed at all, unless it enters the field of social service. To enter this field, education must needs look to sociology for the revelation of those principles just mentioned. This knowledge is to be applied, then, to educational theory and practice, which to-day finds itself so heavily laden with the dogmas and traditions of the past. This scientific application will reveal what those means are which will fit for harmonious living and efficient service.

But, an educational sociology concerns itself not only with the limited phase of education effected by and through

the agency of the school, but also with the broader phase of education effected by and through the agency of all the life forces playing about the individual. These concerns are manifested in order that the individual and the group may be led toward a right realization of those values of life which make for whole and complete living. Sociologists have, as an incentive to study and research of human beings in association, the primary aim of readjusting, changing, and improving those conditions which make for the well-being of humanity. Already we have felt the results of the sociologist's endeavor in the bettering of many of the pathological conditions concerned mainly with poverty and crime. In the solution of race and immigration problems, statesmen are beginning to call upon the sociologist. His attitude toward industrial welfare conditions is being gradually adopted by the most advanced leaders in both England and the United States. These are the signs of an awakening to the fact that the sociologists, as keen and critical observers of society, may after all be able to point out the causes of some very apparent defects in our social structures. Shall educators not avail themselves also of this same opportunity for consultation?

The world looks anxiously to educational forces for some definite reconstruction policies. But even our foremost educators at times despair and become pessimistic; cherished and iron-bound custom seems ever to loom forbiddingly at suggestions implying change. Nevertheless, a few educators, bolder than the rest, have already issued a call direct to the sociologists, just as some twenty years ago, the call was made to the psychologists in regard to matters of determining the educability of persons and the best methods of educating those persons. Their appeal to the sociologists this time is made upon the basis of determining the ends or objectives of the educative processes. The result of the appeal finds itself in the establishment of an educational sociology.

It becomes the mission of educational sociology to test the present ends attained by the method, curricula, and administration of the school; to point out the cause of the failure to produce those adaptations so necessary to social progress. Educators have been concerned so primarily with the educative process that they have virtually lost sight of the fact that it is necessary for the process to have some definite ends resulting in progress. Dr. David Snedden puts the point very well when he writes: "For centuries we have been content to say, 'The master teaches Latin' . . . but the child-study movement forced progressive educators to realize that 'the master teaches John (or Mary) Latin,' and that it is of no less importance that he know much about John or Mary than that he know much about Latin . . . But the scientific spirit of our time is about to impose a new burden on the master. He must explain and justify his reasons for teaching Latin to John or Mary instead of music or literature or hygiene or carpentry. To what ends, useful to society or to the individual, should the Johns or Marys or some known varieties of these study Latin."<sup>1</sup> Herein lies the reason of the call for an educational sociology. It is well to emphasize once again the fact that educators alone have not been able to solve the problem, for their main objective has been the technique of pedagogy and not the scientific study of group progress.

While for years education has been designated as a social process, this process has been devoted to a fitting of the individual to his particular niche in the world. In other words, the social process has had a purely individualistic emphasis. The school has been the field of the educator. The educational sociologist on the contrary is quite as much concerned with the home, the neighborhood, the recreational center, the church, and the workshop as educational agencies as he is with the school. Specifically,

<sup>1</sup>Sociological Determination of Objectives in Education, 6.

educational sociology discusses such topics as, the evolution and the functioning of social groupings; the relation of the educational processes to these groups; the meaning of social efficiency and the attainment of that end through the scientific application of sociological knowledge to educational methods; and, the determination of the objectives of physical, vocational, social, and cultural education in the scheme for a social progress which has been deliberately planned. The development of educational sociology signifies that the educators and the sociologists will reason together in the decision of what forms a socially progressive society shall take, and how best to attain the desired ends in the shortest and most practical manner.

It is, then, hard to conceive how we can have intelligent social progress and social service without those who are in charge of the movement being possessed of the scientific knowledge of our social organization and who are also possessed of an accurate knowledge of social control acquired only after keen and critical analyses of our social institutions. Sociology has reached the stage where it may claim that it has a distinct field apart from the other social sciences and that its students have access to scientific facts and principles of human associations beyond the mere acquaintanceship with facts of the social-life in general. If education is to prepare the individual for efficient membership in the group, is it not essential that there be in the minds of the leaders that scientific grasp of group life which can come only through a sound training in the science of sociology? Education marks the path to the objective of happiness attained through increased usefulness and service of individuals and groups; sociology contributes the light which illumines the path; educational sociology so directs the light that there shall not only be any useless wandering from the path, but that the goal shall ever be visible.

## SOCIAL GAINS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

*The* EDITOR

THE few months which have intervened since the adjournment of the Washington conference on the limitation of armament make it possible to view the conclave with a perspective that is somewhat dependable. Among the tangible social results certain factors may be noted, although the passage of several years will be necessary before final judgments can be made.

1. At Washington there was exhibited a larger measure of open diplomacy than at any previous international conference of equal importance. The fact that the sessions were held in the United States meant that there would be necessarily a more democratic atmosphere surrounding the conference than if it had been held in a European capital. In this connection the advance over the Paris Conference three years previously was marked. The newspaper reports that were sent out were later found to have been authentic and based on genuine sources, thus keeping the public in close touch with the actual progress of events. The speeches rang more true than those at similar gatherings on preceding occasions; they breathed more of the psychology of peace than of the psychology of war. It is also noteworthy that the representatives of leading European nations came to the United States for the first time in history to discuss problems of world significance, thus giving the United States a new recognition in the field of international politics.

2. The assent that was given the proposal to scrap battleships in a wholesale way is new in the annals of



history. Of course the principle that is involved and the sums of money which will be saved may be counteracted by the adoption of greatly enlarged programs of building military aircraft, nevertheless the battleship scrapping measure is a serious blow to the pride if not to the morale of militarism, and it makes easier additional programs of similar character at later conferences.

3. Another significant gain is the agreement to limit land fortifications on certain important islands west of the Hawaiian Islands. The practice which has been observed on the boundary line between Canada and the United States of building no fortifications has now been extended in principle to a wide strip of ocean surface containing strategic islands. Although this agreement may be in conflict with the mandates provided for under the covenant of the League of Nations, yet, as an agreement, it is unique and makes easier additional agreements regarding the limitation or even the razing of land fortifications elsewhere on the face of the world and presages the time when land fortifications may be banished everywhere by agreements based on the mutual good will of the nations.

4. The important element in the four power pact concerning the Pacific and Far East is the agreement on the part of four leading nations to confer with one another on far eastern questions before declaring war. While the wording of the pact is not clear, it has already done much to clear the international atmosphere, to dispel the war clouds that were gathering, and to lead the way to additional conferences on disputed points. The method of reasoning together thus gains at the expense of the method of fighting.

5. The promise not to use submarines against merchant vessels is a tangible asset. It is unfortunate that the United States could not have boldly joined Great Britain in her advanced proposal to abolish the submarine

altogether, for this combined action might have resulted in the death knell of the submarine .

6. The declaration against chemical warfare is of moral value, and public opinion has been directed and crystallized in a tentative way against the strongest weapon of military warfare. It is unfortunate that a pronouncement could not also have been made against aircraft, although the difficulty in distinguishing between commercial and military aircraft is very difficult. As long as nations cannot fully trust one another's words, it is too much to expect that destructive gases and military aircraft can be abolished by international agreement.

7. The arrangement between China and Japan whereby China buys Shantung back will bring this territory again under Chinese control. The agreement, however, recognizes the fact that Shantung had been acquired legitimately by Japan. It may stimulate China's banking interests into a co-ordinated activity which will be a wholesome factor in rehabilitating China with her bankrupt and evidently corrupt government. China has received a new recognition. The attitude of the leading nations of refraining to establish further centers of influence in China has significance, providing a consortium of economic forces does not override the political declaration, and make agreements with specific Chinese provinces and thus lead to the national dismembehment of China.

8. The promise of Japan to withdraw from Siberia as soon as she considers such a move safe from the standpoint of her own welfare may mean much or little, but it constitutes at least a declaration to the world by Japan that she properly does not belong in Siberia. The attitude of Japan at the Conference tended to dispel a considerable degree of Japanphobia, in the same way that the decision of the United States to cease fortifying islands west of the Hawaiian group, except the Aleutian Islands, has gone

far to undermine Americanphobia in Japan. The militaristic, imperialistic government in Japan is learning that Japan must retain at all odds the good will of the world, and that to do this it will be necessary to emasculate her imperial foreign policy.

The social gains of the Washington conference are meager in comparison with the wishes of many Americans. Nevertheless they are as much as perhaps might have been expected by any scientific observer. It is reported that thirteen million Americans wrote to Washington, D. C., during the progress of the conference, urging the cause of peace; two-thirds of the number expressed chiefly a religious faith in urging world peace. It is now to be hoped that these "letter-writing Americans" will not allow their interest to wane, but that they with other millions will persist in urging a peace attitude until all the peoples of the world shall have developed a world community spirit, and have perfected a world organization dedicated to productive discussion and international co-operation. In these days when strife and the war spirit are rampant in Europe, China, and elsewhere, the Washington Conference may be viewed as a step toward the development of a world public opinion and a world consciousness.

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

OUR READERS will note the appearance of "Current Literature Notes" in this issue. It is proposed to develop this new feature into a useful compendium.

AS INDICATED by the presence of an index, volume six of the JOURNAL is being concluded with this issue. Volume seven will begin one month earlier than the preceding volume of our publications, namely, with the September-October issue and will be ready for distribution the latter part of August.

THROUGH the gift of a friend who is interested in the JOURNAL, this issue represents an additional expansion of eight pages in size. May we have other friends, who are substantially interested in our enterprise of spreading the saving influence of sociological knowledge. The increase in size makes possible the publishing of five main articles in this number.

AT THE PAN-AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE held in Los Angeles, April 27-29, in connection with the inauguration of President Rufus B. von KleinSmid, distinguished diplomats from fifteen South and Central American republics, Mexico, Canada, and the United States united in working toward a better understanding of Pan-American problems and upon procedures of mutual and permanent helpfulness. In his inaugural address, President von KleinSmid urged a new degree of co-operation between universities, not only in the division of educational fields and the co-ordination of departments but also in promulgating national and international processes.

## News Notes

THE CALIFORNIA STATE CONFERENCE of Social Work carried out a successful program at San Diego, April 25 to 29, emphasizing throughout the principle of "prevention through education." Among the notable speakers were Thomas Mott Osborne, Edward A. Steiner, and Whiting Williams.

DR. EDWARD A. STEINER of Grinnell College, Iowa, speaking in Los Angeles in April, drew a comparison between the Cabin and the Steerage in which 250 cabin passengers occupy two-thirds of the space and 1600 steerage are huddled together in the cramped space beneath the water line. The Cabin doesn't understand and hence condemns the Steerage, which is becoming very restless. Safety demands that the Cabin find out why the Steerage is rocking the Ship of State.

AMERICANIZATION is being wrongly interpreted by many persons, declared Druzilla R. Mackey in addressing the Southern California Sociological Society on April 19. "Do we want immigrants to be made like Americans, good and bad alike, virtuous and law breakers alike, the unselfish and exploiters in high places alike? Let us substitute the idea of neighborization, of being neighbors to immigrants, giving them our best and asking their best in return."

DR. J. HAROLD WILLIAMS of the California Bureau of Social Research who addressed the March meeting of the Child Conservation League of California on Some Practical Aspects of Feeble-mindedness, states that a conservative estimate, based on studies made in several public schools in California, places the number of feeble-minded in the state at 10,000. Dr. A. H. Sutherland of the Department of Psychology and Research of the Los Angeles City Schools was responsible for the statement that if these 10,000 children were given adequate vocational training so that their efficiency would be increased by fifty cents per day for 200 working days they would contribute \$1,000,000 annually to industry. The objectives of the League are: (1) an enumeration of the feeble-minded in the state; (2) adequate institutional provision for low grade cases; (3) vocational training for the feeble-minded; (4) state aid for special schools; (5) special training for teachers of the feeble-minded, and (6) higher salaries for the special teachers.

## Book Notes

STUDIES IN THE THEORY OF SOCIETY. By FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University. Macmillan Co., pp. vi+308.

In this group of sociological essays Professor Giddings brings together the latest and best products of his thinking. While this is not an organically developed treatise, it reveals throughout Dr. Giddings' sociological thought in the form of a system of pluralistic behavior, based on the conception of like social mechanisms responding automatically (instinctively) in the same ways to like stimuli. In the development of this system the author draws heavily upon his wide knowledge of the history of human civilization.

The last two chapters are the most important, for they represent condensations of years of sociological study and contain a summary of Professor Giddings' main theme of pluralistic behavior and of his whole system of sociology, respectively. Equally inviting and stimulating are a number of other chapters, such as "The Quality of Civilization" and "The Mind of the Many." Although the book is divided into three logical parts, Historical, Analytical, and Synthetic, each chapter is complete in itself.—E. S. B.

THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. By R. M. MACIVER, University of Toronto. E. P. Dutton and Company, 1921, pp. vi+186.

The author treats such themes as the nature, the stages, the structure, and the evolution of society. The goal of social progress is described as the evolution of great associations or institutions. Life arises in society, which is within a person as much as around him—this is the underlying premise of the book. Customs record the environment in which they arose; the economic environment is an aspect of the social environment; socialization is the process by which human beings establish wider and profounder relationships with one another—these are typical key generalizations.

Social science is used in the sense of a general sociology. Social psychology is explained as "the way in which the human mind thus responds to and in turn creates the social environment." The book, which treats of sociology as a scientific study and which recognizes the importance of the psychological approach, does not clearly dis-

tinguish between sociology as a method of scientific investigation and as a social philosophy with an interpretative function, in fact it seems to emphasize the latter procedure at the expense of the former.—E. S. B.

**PROBLEMS OF A NEW WORLD.** By JOHN A. HOBSON. Macmillan Company, 1921, pp. viii+274.

In these essays upon the civilian mind, the tragi-comedy of war idealism, the new industrial revolution, and the new world, the reader will find the author's usual penetrating analysis, his strong industrial concern, fearless attitude, a noticeable degree of cynicism, a protest against a nationalism that is in secret conjunction against capitalism, and against a capitalism that resorts to suppression instead of courageously facing injustices in its own functioning. Lloyd George is pronounced an opportunist, catering to the herd mind of the people; and Woodrow Wilson is described as a man who took his ideals so seriously that it became impossible for him to recognize or acknowledge their failure.

The author urges the abolition of the "king business" everywhere, even in industry, and favors revolution by consent as the best means of overcoming the powerful ground swell of revolution by violence. It is unfortunate that the author does not give the fundamental principles of spiritualization and socialization of all the attitudes and behavior of all classes and individuals the emphasis which they seem to merit.—E. S. B.

**INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY.** By EMORY S. BOGARDUS, University of Southern California Press, 1922, third edition, pp. 456.

In this volume which has now reached its third edition, the idea of sociology as a study of group phenomena is emphasized throughout, and the concepts of isolation, interaction, social contacts, conflict, accommodation, social attitudes, and socialization are the main tools of analysis which are used. Family groups, play groups, occupational groups, community and nation groups including the world group, educational groups, rural and urban groups, racial groups, group control and group progress—these are the main themes which are analyzed in terms of psychological processes.

In the ten years that have passed since the author first began to teach the beginning course in sociology to university students, he

has become convinced that the freshman year in college is none too soon to introduce young people to sociological truth. He believes that youth need sociological truth as soon as they begin to grasp individualistic truth.

The principle has been kept to the front throughout the treatise that the chief justification of the existence of any group is found in giving the persons who compose that group the fullest and richest possibilities of developing all their potential powers. A principle of equal importance has been given a similar prominence, namely, that the chief justification of the existence of any person is found in giving his life unselfishly in upbuilding the lives of other persons and of groups.—E. M. P.

**SOCIAL STUDIES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.** By Commission of Association of Schools of Collegiate Schools of Business. University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 112.

Urges that the social studies be made the central feature of secondary curricula; contains fifty-three pages of bibliography.

**INDUSTRIAL GOVERNMENT.** By JOHN R. COMMONS. The Macmillan Co. New York, 1921. pp. 425.

This book represents the results of the visits of Professor Commons and eight University of Wisconsin students to thirty industrial establishments in the United States. These places were chosen because each of them might be said to be present fields of experimentation and advanced practice in dealing with that phase of the labor situation known as industrial government. The first eighteen chapters are really interesting narratives of the investigations. The last five chapters deal with inferences drawn from the studies and surveys made. One of the most interesting conclusions for the sociologist is found in the statement: "The real problem in industry is that of human relations . . . Team work, based on mutual trust, confidence, and complete understanding will take us farther toward the solution of industrial relation problems than any mere industrial relationship scheme, wage bonuses or attempts at conciliation." What the workers seem to be striving for consciously or otherwise, is this attempt to express themselves in terms of the humanity they represent—human beings created for the purpose of thinking and planning not only for their own future but of that of their fellow creatures. The book admirably presents this human side of the industrial problem. M. J. V.



FIJIAN SOCIETY, by REV. W. DEAN, M.A. (Syd.), B.D. (Lond.)  
Macmillan Company, London, 1921 pp. 248.

The chief value in this volume is the concrete data—mostly original material—which it contains. While there is evidence in the footnotes that the author was familiar with the literature of the island peoples of the Pacific before undertaking the study of the Fijians, the volume would have greater value for students of sociology had the writer interpreted the life which he observed from the standpoint of its "culture complex" rather than its relation to the particular concept of religious and moral ideals with which he was imbued. Nevertheless the report ranks as one of the most comprehensive and accurate studies of a savage community. It is written from the standpoint of several years contact with the people whom it describes during which the author acquired a speaking knowledge of the vernacular and a rare amount of confidence on the part of the natives. It should be of especial value to all future missionaries to Polynesian and Melanesian groups.—C. E. R.

THE SOCIAL MISSION OF CHARITY. By WILLIAM J. KERBY, PH.D., LL.D. Professor of Sociology in the Catholic University and Trinity College, Washington, D. C. Macmillan, 1921. pp. 196.

This volume is the second of a series planned by the National Catholic Welfare Council and treats only "points of view in Catholic charities." While the motive of the author is to awaken a wider sympathy among Catholic social workers for the more recent methods of relief, the book itself is of equal value to members of other denominations, who may be interested in the problem of the relation of modern scientific principles and devices of social work, to the historic concepts and ideals of the Christian religion. While the style is expository rather than argumentative, the book as a whole is a dignified appeal for a more practical religious attitude and a more reverent concept of social service. The first chapter opens with the parable of the Good Samaritan but the author immediately endeavors to contrast the simple situation in the parable with the complex problem of modern times, the effective solution of which depends, as he shows in the succeeding chapters, upon the use of "method and system,"—Charity, that is, "science ending in love."—C.E.R.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. 1921, pp. vi+526.

The able address of the President of the 1921 session of the National Conference of Social Work, which was held in Milwaukee, emphasized the need for "social soil analysis," that is, not statistical and surface observations, but for getting at the ground swells and currents of social life, for analyzing the psychology of social situations, and for finding out how that kind of social morale is produced which causes people to work for each other's good habitually.

Fourteen addresses given at the general sessions and 112 addresses given at the section meetings of the Conference are published in this volume. They include social topics, such as: children, delinquents and correction, health, public agencies and institutions, the family, industrial and economic problems, the local community, mental hygiene, organization of social forces, and Americanization. The Proceedings represent a valuable yearbook of social work progress.—E. S. B.

RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. By AUGUSTUS W. HAYES, Ph.D., Tulane University. The University of Chicago Press, 1921. XI + 128, \$1.50.

After a considerable degree of careful analysis the author concludes that the proper local unit for comprehensive community organization is the consolidated school district, ranging from thirty to fifty square miles in area., Dr. Hayes outlines briefly a program for the community organization of this unit. An extended development of the last-mentioned set of problems would be worth while in a second edition. A unique chapter deals with the psychology of the farmer's mind.

THE CHURCH AND THE IMMIGRANT. By GEORGIA E. HARKNESS, Boston University. Doran Company, 1921, Pp. 110, \$1.00.

Dedicated to our brothers, the new Americans, this book shows how the spiritual message of Christianity may be translated into social service in behalf of immigrants. The discussion of immigrant backgrounds is too brief. The best part of this useful handbook are the suggestions which it makes to churches to help immigrants in becoming American citizens after the Christian pattern.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. By BENJAMIN BRAWLEY. Macmillan, New York, 1921. xv+420.

This book presents a history of the Negro in America from the social point of view. The actual life of the Negro in his interrelations with the people of America is portrayed from his first contact with American soil through the gradual crystallization of the slavery system, through the enfranchisement, and down to the present day. There is a chapter on Liberia, which is considered merely a part of the Negro problem in America. According to the author, no other immigrant group has so profoundly influenced the history of the United States. Although the Negro has been utilized in the development of the country while he has not been accorded his just rights, the author is hopeful in regard to the future. He considers that the Negro has a valuable spiritual contribution to make to the life of America which is at present seething with commercialism, graft, selfishness, and cynicism. He asks for nothing more than a square deal for the Negro. This is a sane and balanced survey of the Negro problem in America.—W. C. S.

A FORM OF RECORD FOR HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORK. By GERTRUDE L. FARMER. J. B. Lippincott Co., 1921, pp. 81.

A complete method of record-keeping for Hospital Social Service is described in this book, to meet three types of needs: (1) the "short service," given to a large number of patients without much social investigation, (2) intensive case work, with follow-up service to complete the medical treatment, and (3) intensive plus extensive social case work, indicating long service in adjusting more complex situations. The author emphasizes the summary method of case record with especial stress on the reflective thinking necessary for the worker to complete such a record.—A. M. F.

SELECTIVE MIGRATION AS A FACTOR IN CHILD WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES. With special reference to Iowa. By HORNE LL N. HART, PH.D., University of Iowa. 1921, pp. 137.

In this condensed form of a doctor's dissertation, Dr. Hart illustrates new possibilities in methods of treating social statistics. He attempts, with success, to measure migration as a selective process and to analyze the leading characteristics of migrants.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDUSTRY. By JAMES DREVER, D. Phil., University of Edinburgh. E. P. Dutton and Company, 1921, Pp. XI + 148.

Applied psychology is defined as an effort to guide behavior towards the production of definite results. In ten chapters Dr. Drever discusses such topics as intelligence and vocational fitness of workers, scientific mental engineering, economy of movement, advertising, display and salesmanship.

A sharp and justifiable distinction is made between industrial psychology and scientific management. The former is strictly impartial; the latter exists confessedly for the purpose of increasing output and profits. The establishment of a central institution or bureau of industrial psychology for the purpose of instituting and co-ordinating actual testing work, and of keeping records of the physical and mental requirements of economic tasks as well as of the physical and mental grading of individual workers is urged.

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD: AN OUTLINE SYLLABUS. By HARRY ELMER BARNES, PH.D., Clark University. D. Appleton, 1921, pp. xii-126.

In this syllabus of twenty-seven chapters, designed for use in a two-year college course, the student is introduced to physical, biological, psychological, and sociological principles as tools for understanding history. He is also directed to studying history from the prehistoric ages to modern days without having his attention called to kings, wars, and battles, references to which are wisely omitted. At the end of the chapter a sociological interpretation is encouraged. The method of the book is excellent but the results are sketchy. History is defined by the author as "essentially a study of the extension of human control over the physical environment." History, however, includes the study of the extension of social organization and socialization of individuals.

RACES AND IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA. By JOHN R. COMMONS, University of Wisconsin. Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. 242.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1907. The present edition contains some new facts and a new fifteen-page introduction, in which the author urges more restrictive immigration measures than now exist.

THE SETTLEMENT OF WAGE DISPUTES. By HERBERT FEIS.  
The Macmillan Co., New York, 1921, pp. 289.

A thorough-going inquiry into the wages question with a view toward forming a sound and forward-looking policy of its settlement for industrial peace. The author makes an orderly and logical analysis of the present theories and practices of the wages system. His first chapters were devoted to a discussion of the aims toward which any policy of wage settlement should be directed and the forces and relationships which determine wages. The policy which is formulated by Professor Feis as a result of this inquiry embraces six principles. These basic principles for industrial peace may be briefly stated as follows: wage standardization in the important industries, a living wage for the lowest paid groups, a wage for other groups based on general principles applicable alike to all, prompt adjustment of wages to a general price level scientifically planned on the index number system, a profits test devised so as to reflect a benefit to the wage earners in case of excessive profits by industries, and a general policy of encouragement to a continuance of organization by labor.—M. J. V.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE  
ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE NEW WORLD. By CLARK  
WISSLER. Oxford University Press, 1922. Second edition, pp.  
xxi+474.

This book brings together an immense amount of information about the American Indian. This group makes an appeal to popular interest on account of its many contributions. To mention but one element, the maize culture, which is such an important factor in our national life, has been taken over bodily. While this book is of prime interest to anthropologists, it is also of value to the general reader who is interested in a scholarly treatment of this vanishing race.—W. C. S.

THE CHINESE FAMILY SYSTEM. By SING GING SU, PH.D.  
International Press, New York City, 1922, pp. 112.

In a thoroughly scholarly manner the author has brought together and organized the essential data concerning the history and the nature of the Chinese family, which he pronounces the chief factor in preserving Chinese civilization and in preparing the way for modern Chinese democracy.—E. S. B.

## Periodical Literature Notes

In these pages it is aimed to call the attention of our readers only to articles in current journals which have a marked degree of originality and of which our readers should have knowledge.

*Home Conditions and Native Intelligence.* This article shows a new method of social research in which native intelligence is compared with home conditions. W. W. Clark, *Jour. of Delinquency*, Jan., 1922, 16-23.

*Newsboys in Birmingham.* A study of 143 boys in Birmingham, Alabama, showing how employment for an average of from two to four hours daily affects (1) school work and (2) moral standards. Esther L. Rider, *American Child*, Feb., 1922, 315-24.

*An Ethical Discrimination Test.* A significant attempt is made here to work out a set of objective tests for measuring moral conduct. This study opens a new field of sociological investigation. S. C. Kohns, *Jour. of Delinquency*, Jan., 1922, 1-15.

*The Function of Sociology in the Training of Teachers.* A comprehensive presentation of facts showing the need for the development of an educational sociology if we would realize the aim of education in a democracy—the predetermination of ideals, institutions, and activities. Ross L. Finney, February, 1922, pp. 110-120, *Educational Review*.

*Coal Mines, Miners, and the Public.* A group of important articles on conditions among coal miners and the stake of the public in the coal industry, with significant illustrations which are especially valuable in view of the coal strike that was called on April 1, 1922, and which seems to indicate that something is wrong "with the prevailing conduct of the coal business." A symposium by eleven authorities. *Survey*, March, 25, 1922.

*Education for Internationalism.* An argument for the international element and a world community spirit in public opinion. W. W. Davis, Jr., *Hibbert Journal*, Jan., 1922, 335-52. -

*A Symposium on the Towner-Sterling Bill.* The argument for and against this bill, successor to the Smith Towner Bill, are presented with particular reference to their relation to immigrant education. *Foreign Born*, Feb., 1922, 43-48.

*Symposium on Motion Pictures.* Discusses such questions as: What standards should be set for the pictures used by health agencies? What are the needs in health motion pictures that are not met at present? *Amer. Jour. of Public Health*, April, 1922, 269-78.

*The Public Defender.* A report on a study of the three principal instances of public defenders in the United States, namely, in Los Angeles, New York County, and the State of Connecticut. J. B. Reynolds, *Jour. of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Feb., 1922, 476-89.

*A Rural Slum Community.* A community case study of fifty-nine rural families in a middle western state, giving a cross section of the life of a backward neighborhood which is greatly in need of "education for living." Charles E. Gibbons, *American Child*, Feb., 1922, 343-52.

*The Holy Grail of the Social Gospel: A Study of Edwin Markham.* The sociologist may well make illustrative use of those of our poets and dramatists who strike high notes in spreading the social gospel of human welfare and betterment. Edwin Markham's poems are here analyzed with rare insight as to their social nature and value by a writer keenly in sympathy with the poet. William L. Stidger, *Christian Century*, April 6, 1922, 434-38.

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## EUGENICS AS A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

By CLARENCE MARSH CASE  
*State University of Iowa*

EUGENICS is a theory for improving the human stock, physically and mentally, by social control of marriages in such a way as to increase the relative proportion of the well-born and to decrease the proportion of the ill-born. By this means it is hoped to promote social well-being and increase human happiness. Its purpose is thus very broadly social, and that the movement has been such from the start is proved by the words of its originator, Sir Francis Galton, who declared that Eugenics "must be introduced into the national conscience, like a new religion. It has, indeed, strong claims to become an orthodox religious tenet of the future, for Eugenics co-operates," says Galton, "with the workings of Nature by securing that humanity shall be represented by the fittest races. . . . The improvement of our stock seems to me one of the highest objects that we can reasonably attempt. We are ignorant of the ultimate destinies of humanity, but feel perfectly sure that it is as noble to work to raise its level in the sense already explained, as it would be disgraceful to abase it." And in an earlier passage he states the object quite definitely when he declares, "All . . . would agree that it was better to be healthy than sick, vigorous than

weak, well-fitted than ill-fitted for their part in life."

<sup>1</sup>This certainly sets up very explicitly a program of *social improvement* as the ultimate aim of race betterment, but Galton enunciated even more clearly a very definite policy of social *self-direction*, in the following: "Man has already furthered evolution very considerably, half consciously, and for his own personal advantages, but he has not yet risen to the conviction that it is his religious duty to do so, deliberately and systematically."<sup>2</sup>

It is plain that the eugenicists from Galton's day to the present hour have been advocating a scheme which implies social self-direction to a most radical and even revolutionary degree, as regards both the object sought and the means proposed. For the influence of the nature of the individual units upon the character of the whole which they compose is as vital in the case of society as it is in that of any other aggregate. This truth was enunciated by Mr. Spencer very early in the history of sociology,<sup>3</sup> and there has been no tendency to neglect it on the part of succeeding thinkers. In fact the danger would seem to lie in the other direction, and it therefore the purpose of this sketch to emphasize the correlative and complementary truth, which is that the character of a society may very greatly modify the nature of its individual members, both directly and indirectly, immediately and remotely. Indeed it is only in the light of this truth that the true nature of *social evolution* can be understood, for it means primarily the development of customs, traditions and institutions, and only in a secondary and incidental degree implies any change in the physical or mental traits of the individuals who compose the social group. In other words, social evolution is only incidentally concerned with

<sup>1</sup>Address before the Sociological Society, London, 1904.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in "Applied Eugenics," by Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson. New York. 1918. Cf. p. 148.

<sup>3</sup>In "Principles of Sociology," Vol. I.

changes in the physical or racial type. For this reason, animal societies fall outside its jurisdiction, which is concerned with the gradual unfolding and, later, the conscious development of those collective ways of believing, feeling, and acting which are the true social realities, as we find them expressed and embodied in folkways (or customs), *mores* (primitive morals), institutions, organizations, and all the other social products of individual and collective achievement.

The *program* of eugenics, as distinguished from its more theoretical aspect as a branch of biological research, is two-fold, having both a negative and a positive application. In its negative aspect it is prohibitive and coercive in method. It proposes to forbid by law the reproduction of the clearly deficient, or *dysgenic*, strains or families. If we ignore the clamorous pseudo-eugenists, whose scientifically unenlightened zeal is bent on laying the axe to the root of certain family trees on a sweeping scale, and confine our remarks to those trained and tempered intellects which alone are capable of discussing such tremendously vital problems, we may say that it is proposed simply to eliminate by segregation, and occasional sterilization, the most clearly evident strains of degenerate inheritance. Among these are feeble-mindedness, insanity, epilepsy, and hereditary physical defects such as deaf-mutism, blindness, and other pronounced bodily malformations.

When we turn to the positive aspects of this proposed method of social improvement, the prospect for adequate results is more dubious. For *positive* eugenics aims to increase, by voluntary measures, the number of children born to those families which are believed to represent the best hereditary qualities. In this case the method proposed is necessarily that of education, for it goes without saying that such socially more powerful people would tol-

erate no legislative coercion in the affairs of sexual mating and the rearing of children. At any rate the program itself is quite clear, negative eugenics proposing to restrict by compulsion of law the reproduction of the genetically unfit, while positive eugenics hopes to encourage by intellectual and moral suasion, i. e., by education, the multiplication of the genetically superior.

Postponing to a later section the exceedingly difficult problem of determining who are actually the bearers of valuable hereditary traits, we have first to notice the immediately practical difficulties in the way of this positive eugenics program. Its method is avowedly educational; but it often becomes, in practice, a matter of exhortation. But whether it be the one or the other, the outstanding fact is that it must undertake nothing less than a revolution in the universally accepted scale of values and in that entire mode of life which is rooted in the very foundations of our existing order. This well-nigh insuperable difficulty was clearly perceived by Professor A. G. Keller in his remarks on eugenics, in *Societal Evolution*. In the technical language of the Yale school of sociologists,<sup>4</sup> our prevailing views on marriage, the birth-rate, and the regulation of either one or both of them, are rooted in the *mores*, which is to say, in that vast complex, authoritative, self-enforcing, self-justifying set of ideas, emotions, and practices which has been created by the efforts of generations to meet the conditions of life, and which has come to be recognized as necessary, right, and morally good. When eugenists propose to change the matings and the child-bearings of any section of the population, either negatively or positively, they simply propose to change the mode of life without altering the conditions of life. This is not, to be sure, a hopeless task, but eugenics proposes

<sup>4</sup>Viz., William Graham Sumner, Albert Galloway Keller, and William Pratt Fairchild.



to attack it at its most unyielding and hopeless points, viz., in matters touching the struggle for economic well-being (the "maintenance mores" of Sumner and his disciples) and the demand for sexual satisfaction. These are two of the fundamental motives of human life, i. e., "hunger and love," when stated in their primitive terms, or the "standard of life" and considerations of "family and lineage," when expressed in their more complex, refined, and modern form. A more explicit statement of this general problem may now be made by examining the program of positive eugenics in the light of the social situation which it proposes to overhaul.

In the first place it is proposed to improve the prevailing standards of sexual selection. Young people must be so soundly instructed in biological and moral considerations that they will be inclined to "fall in love" only with those who present the eugenic qualifications which will be required by the new standards of beauty, attractiveness and marriageability. This demands systematic instruction in eugenics, the promulgation of these new ideals by the incumbents of pulpit and press, by novelist, poet, artist, and all the other guides and guardians of the social mind, and the whole must be supplemented by the provision of better opportunities for marriageable young people to meet and court each other under proper auspices.

As a corollary to this educational movement, there must go a re-shaping of the prevailing ideals of the segregated schools for higher learning, particularly in the colleges for women, whose graduates show the lowest marriage rate of the entire national population, with the men's colleges only slightly better.<sup>5</sup>

But this diminished marriage rate of the college man and woman is simply a special case under the wider problem of the relative postponement or neglect of marriage

<sup>5</sup>Popenoe and Johnson, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIII.

on the part of the professional and economically successful classes as a whole. Furthermore, the decline in the birth-rate among these classes is fully as startling as their lessened marriage rate. Statistics showing this phenomenon, which is world-wide among modern industrial societies, are too familiar to call for display. The figures and charts offered by Popenoe and Johnson are complete and impressive. There can be no question that the economically more successful, and the more highly educated, classes are being steadily outbred and their family strains eliminated, and nowhere more clearly so than in the United States of America.

These familiar facts are scarcely less patent than the explanation which accounts for them. Our modern democratic life is peculiarly marked by competitive social racing, conducted upon the basis of a steadily rising standard of life. Our ambitious young people cannot hope to win economic success by the road of early marriage and a prolific birth-rate. The entire social code of their times stands ready to brand them as social failures if they come short of a certain high level of more or less conspicuous consumption, and no array of children, no matter how healthy, beautiful, or numerous, can possibly atone to Mrs. Grundy for this capital social sin of economic impecuniosity. The marriageable and marrying youths know this perfectly well, for it is kneaded into their very souls every moment of life from infancy. They accept their lesson and practice its consequences in deferred marriages and diminished families, and will doubtless continue to do so just as long as leisure class philosophy and standards dominate the national life; despite all the most vehement efforts of eugenists, from Roosevelt down, whose bourgeoisie philosophy of life is so utterly at conflict with itself that none of its choicest eugenic deliverances can prove, upon analysis, aught but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

It is here that we strike the fundamental weakness of the eugenics movement, a discrepancy reflected in practically all the splendid discussions of its able and otherwise unimpeachable advocates. The weakness is twofold. In the first place, it persistently confuses economic success with eugenic worth, and, in the second place, it vainly hopes to revolutionize the *sex mores* of a flagrantly commercialized order by the process of exhortation, without resort to that radical social reconstruction of our fundamental economic institutions without which there is not the slightest hope of reversing the drift of the moral and social ideals, since these grow out of the social habits of maintenance, i. e., the industrial life of the times.

The eugenics program thus undergoes under our eyes a most startling transformation. It begins in the premises as a most modest, common-sense, socially non-committal proposal for decreasing the relative number of ill-born and increasing the relative number of the well-born. For determining these two eugenic classes it sets up no *a priori*, theoretical standard of human excellence, but merely points out that to be a healthy, strong, energetic specimen of the race to which one belongs is better than to be an unhealthy, weak, and devitalized specimen. It is proposed to prevent the multiplication of these marred and over-fragile human specimens, by the humane method of segregation, with occasional supplementary surgical measures, in colonies best adapted to ensure their greatest individual happiness.

So far the program seems simple, sane, and eminently practicable, but at the next step the eugenicist plunges into an abyss of difficulties. His further proposal is to increase the number of the well-born. In determining which are actually the eugenically superior strains he sets up pecuniary and educational standards, the latter also strictly pecuniary where schooling must be *bought off* the

counter, practically in the same way as an economic commodity. "Those who have succeeded in the competitive struggle," he argues in substance, naively blind to the unfair competitive conditions, "are by that very fact the eugenically superior. Since their birth-rate is relatively declining, the race is dying at the top, while an increase in the birth-rate of these successful classes alone can save it." Yet we are faced by the fact that their economic success and pecuniary culture were purchased by this very sacrifice of potential offspring which the eugenicist so rightly deplures. He is therefore in the position of condemning the end while exalting the means which lead to it inevitably. He exalts the present economic order into the very "mills of God," yet deplures its small grist of well-born children as a menace to race-welfare. The whole spirit and tenor of our modern life must therefore be transformed, so that the prevailing standard of life shall cease to force the eugenically superior to the reduction of their birth-rate. But since the *standard of life* itself is defined in terms of birth-rate, being "the number and character of the wants which a man places above marriage and family,"<sup>6</sup> this plea of the eugenicist is equivalent to saying that there must be found a new standard of life for the eugenically desirable fathers and mothers.

The standard of life, however, is "in the *mores*," as Sumner would say. In other words, it is part and parcel of the state of mind habitually and unconsciously maintained by the masses of the populace. To ask that the considerations set off against marriage and family should weigh less is to demand that the state of the social mind should be something that it is not, or that the eugenically superior should set out to defy it, in both cases without assuming any adequate change in the industrial background of life by which social customs and moral stand-

<sup>6</sup>"Outlines of Economics, by Richard T. Ely, p. 438.

ards are conditioned. Thus the eugenics program, on its positive side, though it starts as a modest reform, demands a sweeping revolution in the sequel, a transformation so profound that *the eugenist should either ask less in the way of results or a vast deal more in the way of radical social reconstruction.*

In a candid estimate of its relative importance as an agency of social improvement, our conclusions concerning eugenics must therefore be somewhat divergent. In the first place it constitutes the most ambitious program of social self-direction the courageous audacity of man has yet conceived, since it proposes to reshape the very stuff that human life is made of. In the central idea of eugenics we behold nature turning to consciously overhaul herself. Consciousness, reflected in the scientific imagination of the eugenics movement, proposes to seize the helm and direct the course of evolution in such a way that the race may actually remold itself physically and mentally. With the first application of eugenic theory, *human* evolution, as distinguished from animal and social evolution, becomes to that extent a conscious and self-directed process. This applies primarily to the psycho-physical units of which society is composed, but it is rightly expected to effect indirectly a profound modification of social life, and to change also the course of social evolution.

The more enthusiastic eugenists virtually advocate the inculcation of sounder ideals of love and beauty; a stronger sense of unity with and obligation toward the generations of men, past, present, and future; fuller knowledge of the laws of heredity and the results of good and bad matings; and the adoption of a new scale of values which will place family above furniture in the minds of the men and women best fitted by heredity to bequeath to their children a superior physical and mental inheritance in the strictly biological sense of the words. All this

is to be accomplished by educational processes, in school and out, with incidental and indirect assistance by means of legislation. As we have already shown how enormously disproportionate the end in view is to the means suggested, it is not necessary to dwell further upon it here except to repeat that eugenists will probably have to reduce their demands or enlarge their methods. Assuming that the latter is preferable, they will have to adopt a more courageous social radicalism and lay their axe to the root of the tree. The declining birth-rate of the successful classes is the price paid for their success, and the plutocratic society which demands it is an implacable and extortionate paymaster. Not only is it extortionate, but also unforgiving. Nothing, however good, can atone for lack of economic well-being. That is the supreme good of the modern world. Whoever would dim its luster, for even so incomparably important an issue as the vital soundness of the human race itself, must be prepared to turn the industrial world upside down. That eugenists are very far from attaining this necessary consistency in their own thought will appear in our remarks on the eugenic philosophy, which follow.

Viewed strictly, in Galton's original terms, eugenics has no social concepts, no point of view from which to anticipate the direction or the goal of social progress. It simply seeks a relatively greater birth-rate of the psycho-physically superior, trusting the consequent elevation of human material to contribute its full share to the ideal social order, whatever that may prove to be. In all this eugenics is perfectly self-consistent, but it does not maintain this original position of social neutrality. On the contrary it too often accepts the present competitive, capitalistic, exploitive regime as fundamentally right—so much so that success under it becomes the evidence, without necessity of proof, of a superior ability. Worse still, this assumed

worth is not merely that of the particular individual, but is imputed to his ancestral strain. In the view of the naive eugenics philosophy, this economic "efficiency" is not somatic, but germinal; not accidental, but biologically predestined; not a matter of achievement, but of election; a work of nature rather than of nurture in any sense of the word.

Taking their stand thus uncritically upon dogmatic premises, the eugenists, despite their fine scientific, inductive reasoning within their special biological field, assume, unconsciously no doubt, the position of special pleaders for the existing social order. The various family strains are laid in the balances of economic well-being, and solemnly found wanting in hereditary eugenic virtue. The present regime, now seemingly tottering to its fall, is thus found to be not merely just itself, but the just judge who weighs the generations of men, dividing them into the sheep and the goats, and, at the hand of the eugenic executioner, consigning the one to the outer darkness of racial extinction, the other to the eternal life of a socially approved and continuing genetic line.

No doubt eugenists will vigorously repudiate this as a misinterpretation, but their works need only to be carefully read to substantiate the indictment. But it must be sought between the lines in many places, in the form of assumption, implication, and inference. This subtlety, hiding itself even from its authors, perhaps, renders it none the less retroactive and socially injurious. Those eugenists who do not wish to be counted among the champions of the exploitative philosophy have simply to abandon their *a priori* reasoning, and maintain a more open mind toward the problem of determining the actual distribution of genetic worth among social classes. In such an event, this criticism of their social philosophy will fall harmless to the ground.

As the evidence now stands we are not in position to dogmatize one way or the other on the latter point. It may even be freely conceded that there is a strong *probability* that some positive correlation may yet be found, upon adequate statistical investigation, to exist between superior hereditary equipment and pecuniary success. But a probability is not an established fact, and the weakness of the eugenist social theory is that it adopts uncritically the Jack Horner philosophy and constantly assumes, even frequently declares with explicitness, that the possessors of the plums are, *ipso facto*, the "smart boys."<sup>7</sup>

This position is scarcely more tenable than that celebrated in the nursery rhyme, for all must recognize, upon reflection, that the element of fortuitous circumstance, of conjuncture, is in both cases too great to validate the imputed superiority. It is a standing marvel that the proponents of the competitive regime and the unhampered play of free enterprise should remain so persistently blind to the fact that the handicaps of inherited capital, family preference, social and business connections, and educational opportunity are so unequally distributed as to render this so-called "fair field" a grotesque myth, and the pride of the victors in their economic success often precisely as puerile and empty of moral or eugenic meaning as that of Jack Horner in his idle nursery triumph. Only when the conditions of the contest shall be equalized, and a really fair competition established, may successful men take just pride in their financial rewards, and until that reform comes to pass a cloud is cast upon the title of every social winner. The recognition of this truth should underlie the reasoning of eugenics. Its frequent failure to do so is the prime reason for the painful inadequacy of eugenics when it leaves its narrower genetic field and attempts to figure as a philosophy of social progress.

<sup>7</sup>See William James: "Psychology," for the mentality of the successful.



## SCALES FOR GRADING SOCIAL CONDITIONS

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RECENT attempts to evaluate sociological data have been developing a method of research which may be expected to assist in social diagnosis. This method consists of scales and measurements for rating, grading, and evaluating social conditions. In many instances, these scales have developed in conjunction with, and are analogous to, the measurements which have been devised to test psychological development and educational progress.

Social rating scales are prepared for the purpose of providing a uniform and objective method of describing and determining the relative consequence of the factors under consideration. Any social situation which may be accurately described may be graded by means of a properly constructed scale. The method has already been applied to home conditions, neighborhood conditions, school buildings, moral character, leadership, juvenile offenses, isolation, social achievement, qualities of citizenship, etc. This article presents the criteria of useful scales and suggests briefly the technique in their construction.

An analysis of the factors involved in the condition to be graded is the first step in the preparation of a scale. Familiarization with important research studies and social surveys in related fields, field-work, and a careful outline-study of the problem are suggested as aids in this analysis. The social condition may then be classified by items which, taken as a whole, constitute the essential qualitative factors involved, e. g., necessities, neatness, size, parental conditions, and parental supervision have been considered

the principal elements in home conditions. In certain cases it may not be necessary to sub-classify the data; e. g., a scale dealing with degree of truancy. The method of classification adopted should preferably be concurred in by three or more competent persons. It is not necessary that a scale contain every possible item related to the condition to be graded, but it should include enough items to allow any important differences in quality to influence the final score.

The most important feature of a scale is its provision for evaluating or grading the condition being studied and it is in this function that most of our scales have their principal weakness. It is necessary that scales be valid, reliable, objective, and usable and the steps to be taken to secure them will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

A scale should measure the factors, abilities, or conditions which it is designed to measure. In order to obtain this feature it is necessary to secure sample descriptions which are representative of the entire quantitative range from poorest to best, least serious to most serious, most inferior to most superior, etc., for each of the qualitative items provided for in the classification. For example, in a scale for grading juvenile offenses,<sup>1</sup> the following samples were among those selected to provide a quantitative range for the item truancy:

1. Played hookey to attend a circus.
2. Played truant only on Fridays on which days he was required to memorize poetry.
3. Played truant intermittently for period of two years.
4. Frequently away from school and was finally transferred to a parental school because of truancy.
5. Brought before juvenile court three times in two years on account of truancy; will not go to school.

These descriptions should be in objective, non-relative terms in order to eliminate personal opinion and clarify meaning. The number of sample descriptions necessary

<sup>1</sup>Clark, Willis W., *Whittier Scale for Grading Juvenile Offenses*, 8.

depends entirely on the nature of the scale and might vary from a few to several hundred. For example, a scale for grading quality of associates would not call for as many samples as a scale for grading social achievement, or success record, which for adequate description would require data for all the various vocational, social, mental, physical, moral and spiritual factors involved.

If it were possible, the relative value of the various samples should be determined by intercorrelation with the true value of the conditions being graded. However, this method is seldom possible as the true value is usually unknown. The alternative is to secure ratings of the relative value or consequence of the various samples by persons competent to judge. Directions for rating, together with a clearly defined criterion (*social consequence* of offenses, *quality* of a home, *legibility* of handwriting) should accompany the samples when submitted for rating. The samples may be arranged in rank order if they are few in number or may be placed in groups the number of which would vary according to the degree of variability desired. Ordinarily a range of ten will permit satisfactory classification and correlation of samples.

The number of raters necessary to secure the desired reliability, determined by correlating the average ratings of one-half with the average ratings of the second half, will vary with the nature of the condition for which the scale is being prepared. If there is slight difference of opinion a small number of raters will be sufficient, while if there is a wide diversity of opinion a larger number will be required. The aim should be to secure self-correlation of  $+ .90$  or higher. The number of raters required may be determined by statistical formulae after a few ratings have been obtained and intercorrelated. Twenty raters of offenses of juvenile delinquents with an average standard deviation of 1.66 on a ten point scale provided

a correlation of  $+.927$ . Eighty raters on the same scale gave a correlation of  $+.970$ .

After the ratings have been obtained, the results should be tabulated and each sample description assigned a numerical value based on the average ratings as shown in Chart I. For most purposes this value may be taken as the score to be assigned the sample. However, in some cases it is desirable to compute probable error differences in merit between samples, thus arriving at scale values. A measure of variability such as standard deviation, quartile deviation, or probable error, should be obtained for each sample for the purpose of determining whether there is sufficient agreement among the raters to warrant its retention in the scale. In case the P. E. is not over one-fourth the range of the scale the sample may be safely retained.

These samples, which may be considered standards, should be regrouped in order of scale value under the item classification to which they relate for the purpose of providing a standard score sheet. (See Chart I.) All samples having similar or equivalent score values should be assigned unit grades; e. g., samples having average score between 3.5 and 4.4 may be grouped as 4; between 4.5 and 5.4 as 5; etc. It may be necessary to eliminate certain of the original specimens in case they (1) are similar in content to other samples, (2) have a high degree of variability among ratings, or (3) have extreme rating values for a given grade.

The standard score sheet provides a uniform and objective method of evaluating the social condition under consideration. Data which have been accumulated may be compared with the standard samples and assigned values by one person which are approximately as reliable as if the data had been rated by the same number of persons as provided ratings for the standard samples. The average correlation obtained when three persons independently

Chart I. Items and sample descriptions selected from the Standard Score Sheet of *Whittier Scale for Grading Juvenile Offenses*, which contains one hundred twenty-two sample offenses classified under fourteen items.

| <i>Grade</i> | TRUANCY  | INCORRIGIBILITY  | STEALING  |
|--------------|--|--|---|
| 1            | Played hockey to attend a circus. (1.2)<br>Played truant only on Fridays on which days he was required to memorize poems. (1.3)  |  |   |
| 2            | Played truant intermittently for period of two years. (2.3)<br>First truant at age 9, for a day or two at a time, finally terminated in two weeks' absence. (2.3)                                    | Ran away from home, obtained employment, securing room and board with another family. (2.1)<br>Beyond control of mother. (2.3)                 | Stole a watermelon. (1.8)   |
| 3            | Frequently truant during period of four years, finally refusing to attend school at all. (2.7)<br>Before juvenile court three times in two years on account of truancy, will not go to school. (2.8) | Ran the streets day and night and was beyond control of parents and teachers. (3.0)<br>Would not obey parents and was a persistent liar. (3.0) | Took one dollar from father's cupboard. (3.0)<br>Stole one dozen eggs and sold them. (3.1)<br>Stole eleven sacks. (3.2)   |
| 4            |  | Disobedient at home, lazy, swears at mother, broke windows; created disturbance in school; violence and threats against principal.             | Stole scrap iron from railroad cars on a siding and sold it to a junk man. (4.0)<br>With two other boys stole box of col-lars and tried to sell them; stole candy and toys. (4.4) |
| 5            |  |  | Stole a bicycle. (4.9)<br>Stole newspapers, also pennies thrown down in payment for same. Stole two bicycles. (5.0)   |
| 6            |  |  | Stole \$28 worth of watermelons; stole bicycle, box of cigars; arrested five times for similar offenses. (6.1)  |

graded juvenile offenses by using a standard score sheet prepared by the writer was  $+.93$ . When similar specimen offenses were rated independently by the same persons an average correlation of only  $+.69$  was obtained.

In addition to furnishing a score for each of the items, scales for grading social conditions, as outlined above, provide a general index which is a numerical valuation of the relative quality, importance, or seriousness of the condition under investigation. This general index is obtained by adding together all of the item scores and is analogous to objective measures in current usage such as height, weight, temperature, mental age, etc. It is particularly valuable for analysis and correlation of interrelated social problems.

The usefulness of results obtained by applying scales for grading social conditions depends on the accuracy of the original data, and the use of such scales does not enable social case workers and research students to eliminate careful investigation. Rather, they foster the systematic collection of pertinent data and the keeping of accurate records and, in addition, aid in scientific interpretation and evaluation.

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## THE JAPANESE FAMILY

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THERE are many differences in civilization between the East and the West. The family problem is one of the most conspicuous examples. The family is the social unit in the Far East, while the individual is the basis of society in the West, the family being largely a unit of individuals. In Japan at least, the highest virtue in regard to the family is to glorify the family name. It is regarded as a matter of great concern to allow the family line to die out, even as an insult to the ancestors. The ancestral history is the first consideration in selecting a life partner.

The Japanese family is based on vertical relationship, that is relations between ancestor and parents, and parents and children. The term "family" includes grandparents, parents, children, and sometimes grandchildren. Western people usually mean by family, husband and wife and children only.

In Japan the moral relation between parents and children is more important than that between husband and wife. The concept of love which is of vital importance in the Western family is overshadowed by the term "filial piety" in the Land of the Rising Sun. In case the head of a family reached a declining age, say sixty or sixty-five, it has been customary for the head to retire from active life, letting his eldest son take his place as successor, so that he may enjoy the rest of his life, especially in religious meditation.

For two hundred years, the woman has been guided in her conduct by the teaching of a sage, Ekken Kaibara, a

scholar adhering to Confucianism, who prescribed the law for woman in the Onna Daigaku, Japan's code of morals before the Meiji Era. In this notable document, the virtues befitting woman are defined as follows: obedience, first and foremost, chastity, mercy, quietness, and self-sacrifice, and her worst vice, jealousy. These virtues have molded the Japanese woman who appears to the Americans extremely tender, faithful, sweet and hard-working. Above all virtues, the spirit of self-sacrifice—sacrifice to the parents-in-law, to the husband, and to the children—is the best characteristic to be found in the Japanese woman. Japanese history is filled with many pages depicting the heroism of many modest women.

The weak points of the Japanese woman, as a whole, as compared with the Western woman, are (1) small physique, (2) lack of spirit of independence, and (3) lack of high intelligence. She is still disqualified as her husband's intellectual companion. Politics and social events are closed to her. The progress of woman, however, cannot be overlooked. She is awakening to the universal demands of the new age and is clamoring for higher education, political rights and equal opportunities with man. She is, moreover, fulfilling splendid missions, religious and social, through various organizations.

The pride of the family in Japan is chagrined by the second highest rate of divorce in the world. There are several causes. (1) Chief cause is the submission of individuality at the altar of family pride. If a bride fails in observing the family rule of tradition, she is likely divorced, not by the husband, but often by the family. (2) Conflict between the wife and her mother-in-law is another important cause. The mother-in-law is likely to be a woman educated in a conservative school, while the new wife has been educated in a modern educational institution. (3) Lack of understanding and lack of mutual love



before marriage. (4) In Western countries, the family is dissolved by divorce, as the family is composed of husband, wife and children. In Japan, however, it is not broken down by divorce, because marriage means woman's entrance into the husband's ancestral family line. The family remains, regardless of the divorce or separation, hence divorce does not disintegrate the family, although it disrupts the home. (5) Lack of religious influence. Although there is religion in every family, neither ancestor worship nor Buddhism lays special emphasis on sanctity of marital ties. The ethical part of daily life is chiefly determined by Confucianism, which is not a religion but ethics, whose standard of family relationship is antiquated.

Christianity has instituted the spirit of love within the family. It has brought a new idea concerning marriage and divorce. Christianity, it seems to me, is the only religion which has demanded the new standard of morality and has the motive power of executing it as regards family relationship and social conducts.

The Eastern concept, with its emphasis upon the family unit system has an advantage, for the dissolution or dying out of a family rarely happens. This situation greatly increases the stability of society. The recent development of Japan is said to be due to patriotism, national unity, and efficiency of family system.

Family pride or responsibility to ancestors prevents individuals from falling easily into vicious temptations. The family unit system increases unity. The co-operation and mutual help among brothers and sisters, parents and children, main family and branch families, is often found.

On the other hand the individual unit system encourages personal initiative and independent spirit among the members of the family. The wonderful inventions and unprecedented discoveries, both mental and material,

made by American and European people, are partly the result of the individualism that is encouraged within the family.

Under the family unit system, how many youths check their ardent desire for self-aggrandizement and hopes for a larger life or higher calling, in order that they may attend to small matters pertaining to the family interests. How many maidens sacrifice their aspirations for the welfare of their home. How many mothers slave and drudge to keep up ancestral reputations. Personalities are nipped in the bud at the altar of family worship.

The individual system encourages domestic democracy. It promotes the status of woman and children in the home, whereby she may enjoy liberty, and whereby each may hold herself responsible for her own will and conduct. It is impossible to hope for domestic democracy and efficiency without the help of Western individualism.

Extreme familism tends to check independence and initiative, making people conservative and also formal. On the other hand, extreme individualism causes people to become selfish, materialistic, unpleasantly aggressive, and creates undue competition and conflict, with the possible result of neural and physical destruction. The extreme familism of Japan and the extreme individualism in the family life of America are both harmful. Both Japan and America lead the world in the divorce rate. Familism and individualism used to be harmonized; the coming civilization needs to be built up on the territory where familism and individualism overlap.

In attaining this purpose, Christianity holds the dynamic—love. This will reconstruct the Japanese home, making it democratic; and protect the American home, producing true filial respect.

## A STUDY OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN PEKING, CHINA

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The Police Department of Peking has divided the poor people of the city into two classes which they call "the poor" and "the very poor." It has organized the city into twenty districts and in each district the policemen keep in close touch with every phase of the life of every inhabitant. No change takes place in any household without the police knowing of it. Among other things, the policemen know with accuracy the income of each family, and for purposes of classification have divided the two poorest groups into the classes given above. They seem however to have no fixed standard of what constitutes a "poor" family or where the quality of "poor" ends and that of "very poor" begins. Approximately, however, a family of two persons is called "poor" if they have an income of less than \$66.00 silver (about \$33.00 in American money) a year, or a family of four, if their income is less than \$93.00. It has been estimated that a Chinese family of five can live without outside help on \$100.00, silver, a year,<sup>1</sup> so that it can be seen that the "poor" of the city are very close to the subsistence line, while the "very poor" are in a state of practical destitution. According to a recent survey of Peking,<sup>2</sup> out of a total population of 811,556 (1917), there are 31,416 "poor" and 65,434 "very poor" or a total of 98,850, which is 11.9 per cent of the entire population.

A typical "poor" family lives in a home that I pass

<sup>1</sup>Dittmer, C. G., "An Estimate of the Chinese Standard of Living," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol 33, Nov. 1918.

<sup>2</sup>Gamble-Burgess, *Peking, A Social Survey*, George H. Doran Co., N. Y., 1921.

often, which is located on a narrow alley-like street at a place where the wall of one compound juts out into the street about five feet beyond the normal property line, making a little alcove or corner which this enterprising beggar family has appropriated. The house is built of bricks that evidently have been picked up, a few at a time, from around buildings that were in process of construction, and the roof and door are composed of tile and board acquired in the same way.

I thought that the people living there had reached about the lowest stage of poverty, until one wintry night when the thermometer was below zero, I saw two little children huddled together, peering in through a crack in the rice-paper window of this "shack," and learned that they represented the "very poor." They had no home at all, but were wandering about begging and looking for a place where they could find shelter from the penetrating cold.

Last winter, in connection with a course in Social Surveys given at Peking University, I visited many of the homes of the poor and the very poor in one police district. Most of the houses consisted of one room about seven feet wide by ten feet long. Many were even smaller. There was one door and usually one window in each, although many times the latter had not been provided, each being made of lattice covered with paper. In the summer, holes were punched in the paper, but in the winter they were all securely pasted up, giving no ventilation except through the door when it was open. About two-thirds of the room was taken up by the *k'ang*, a sort of a brick bed. At the end of the *k'ang* was a small hole dug in the dirt floor with an iron bar across the top which served as a stove. The flue from the stove led under the *k'ang* and thus the fire, when there was one, served both to cook the food and to warm the bed. The top of the *k'ang* was covered with a piece of straw matting and, if the family were not too poor,

a quilt of some sort. However I saw a large number of homes where the straw matting was all the bedding the family possessed. In many of the houses the articles just mentioned completed the inventory of furniture and of all other possessions. In some of the more pretentious houses there might be a *kang* (a large earthen water jar) or a box which served as a table and cupboard, but if the family possessed any furniture they were not classed as poor by the police. In most of the homes there was a shrine of some sort, usually just a picture of the household god on a brilliant red, green, and gold paper, fastened on the wall.

The average family consisted of four persons, although in many there were seven or eight. Some of the families even had boarders in order to help meet the rent which averaged between one and two dollars a month. The entire family, including parents, children, and boarders slept on the single *k'ang*. With conditions such as these, it is easy to understand the immoral conditions which exist in the poorer parts of the city.

In several of the homes that I visited I found one member of the household sick. Usually it was a baby or a child, but sometimes it was the mother or father. It was not often that the father lost time from his work on account of sickness because that was a luxury he could not afford. In the cases where the father was sick, it was always very serious and the family was reduced to the lowest straits of poverty, the mother and children often being compelled to go out on the streets and beg. A great many children were broken out with smallpox and many of the other people had other loathsome and contagious diseases. The spread of diseases of that sort would be very hard to check under these bad living conditions were it not for the fact that Nature has furnished a good antiseptic in the form of the sun which shines brightly even during the coldest months of the winter and which is an effective germicide.

In examining the budgets of families of this class who live just outside of Peking, Prof. C. G. Dittmer of Tsing Hua College found that from 63 per cent to 83 per cent of the total income was spent for food, the greatest majority of families spending about 80 per cent; from 7 per cent to 16 per cent was spent for rent; and from seven-tenths of 1 per cent to 10 per cent was spent for clothing. In the latter case the yearly amount spent was thirty cents.<sup>3</sup> Several cases were found where the family did not possess enough clothing to go around so the children had to stay at home huddled together on the *k'ang* during the day, while the older people worked or begged; at night the garments were used for bedding. In the summer time, this difficulty is overcome by the fact that the boys under ten or twelve years of age go about naked and the older people wear an absolute minimum of clothing.

In traveling about Peking, or through any oriental city, one is constantly impressed with the need of medical aid, but until recently this work was very difficult on account of the superstitions of the people. Stories were told of how foreign medicine was made from the eyes and other parts of the bodies of Chinese children. People believed these and other stories of the same type about foreigners and even covered the faces of their children when foreigners passed in order to ward off the evil spell which was cast on a child by the look of a "foreign devil." These superstitions largely disappeared after 1900, but even yet many of the people are afraid to take advantage of the free medical clinics operated by the mission hospitals. Superstition still hinders the doctors in their work. This can best be illustrated by an incident which I saw soon after I came to Peking. As I was walking along one of the principal streets I noticed a crowd standing around some object. On worming my way through the crowd I found

<sup>3</sup>Dittmer, *op. cit.*

a man lying on the frozen ground evidently in great pain. A police officer was standing by him and I decided that the man would be taken care of. This was about eleven o'clock. At three o'clock I passed that way again and the man was still lying there, now evidently dying, with the crowd looking passively on. The body lay untouched, except to have a piece of straw matting thrown over it, for three days. When I protested to a medical missionary and asked why something was not done, especially since this took place within a block of the mission hospital, he explained that the more superstitious people believe that if they helped a person who was dying and he recovered, the evil spirit whose designs on his intended victim had been frustrated would enter their own bodies and would kill them instead of the intended victim. If, on the other hand, anyone touched the person to take him to a hospital and subsequently he died, the relatives would hold the person who had helped him responsible for the death, even though the suffering person would have died anyhow; and if he happened to be the father of a family, the person who had carried him to the hospital, or the hospital itself, would have to support the family. One of the mission hospitals had an experience of that sort a few years ago and before they were through with the case they had to pay the relatives several thousand dollars. Now, whenever a patient comes to the hospital, he must be accompanied by a relative or a friend who assumes the responsibility for him. In a series of evangelistic meetings which were being held during this last Chinese New Year season, a man in the center of the audience was suddenly stricken with an epileptic fit. No one dared touch him and it was half an hour before a relative could be found who would consent to have him taken to a hospital.

Aside from the much needed medical relief, it goes without saying that, with conditions such as I have described,

there is a tremendous need for relief of other forms. Until the establishing of the Republic in 1912, there was practically no organized relief work except for the distribution of grain in times of famine, a few small private charitable institutions, and that which was done by the missionaries. According to the Chinese ideas, when a person dies, if he is not given a good funeral and a respectable grave, his spirit will "lose face" in the spirit world and will therefore become angry and will return to bring bad luck to the persons who failed to provide for his funeral. Consequently it was thought more necessary to provide a good funeral than it was to help the sick or starving in order to keep them from dying. With this idea in mind, there were several philanthropic organizations in existence whose members provided funerals and places of burial for the destitute.<sup>4</sup> It is for this same reason that, on the death of the father, many poor families pay several hundred dollars for an elaborate funeral, contracting debts which it takes generations to pay.

When the Republic was established, most of the relief work in the city of Peking was taken over by the police department and is now being conducted by them. The old idea of "charity" and temporary relief still prevails, but the western ideals are slowly making themselves felt, and at the present time more and more corrective and preventive work is being done. Trades are being taught in the poorhouses, orphanages, and other institutions and persons who are in need are helped to find work. Aside from the regular institutions of relief, the most popular methods of helping the needy are by establishing *kung ch'angs* or work rooms where women can come and work and be paid for their work. Such work rooms have been provided by the police department and by private groups. Practically all the foreign women in Peking are directly

<sup>4</sup>Gamble, *op. cit.*, p. 267.



interested in one or more of the *kung ch'angs*. The chief criticism of the institutional work as it exists at the present time is that it is totally inadequate for the needs of the city and that it is not unified. Peking should have some sort of an organization or bureau which can investigate the cases of those who need help and which can intelligently direct the relief work of the city as it is very evident that there is a great deal of waste through indiscriminate giving and through duplication.

Aside from the problem of poverty, the greatest social problem in all the large cities of China is that of prostitution. This is largely brought about by the Chinese ideas regarding women and marriage. With the marriage customs such as they are, where a man usually does not even see his future wife until the time for the ceremony, there is a very large number of unhappy marriages. This is especially true since it has never been thought worth while to educate the women, and so it often happens that a man with a fine education, sometimes gained in foreign schools, has found himself married to an illiterate woman. Even before marriage, a young man is not allowed to have any social relationships whatever with any girls except possible his sisters, and even after marriage, companionship such as we know it in America, does not exist between a man and his wife. Consequently, in order to satisfy their desires for association with the opposite sex, men have sought the houses of prostitution. The fact that they are often seeking only what Westerners would consider legitimate social intercourse is shown by the fact that the first item on the price list of the brothels is for "sitting and talking." The girls in these houses are expert conversationalists and often have been given a fine classical education or have had good musical training and are often nothing more than professional entertainers. By these statements I do not mean to minimize the social evil as it exists in Peking,

but rather to show that conditions cannot be judged wholly by Western standards. Prostitution is a very serious evil and is growing especially fast among the student and official classes. In 1919 there were in Peking 3,130 licensed prostitutes, which, in comparison with the population of the city, makes one prostitute for every 258 inhabitants. Among the large cities of the world this percentage is exceeded by only one: namely, Shanghai.

I cannot go further into the details of this problem, but have given these facts only to indicate the relation of the social evil to the future development of China. Mr. Gamble has given the key to the situation when he says, "The new spirit of freedom which swept the country after the Republic was founded in 1912, and which has showed itself so plainly in freer social relations between men and women, has doubtless been responsible for the increase in vice among young men and for the general letting down of standards. When one sees so many of the old standards and customs being shattered, it is easy to include personal morals in the list of those that are to be abolished."<sup>5</sup> This brings the problem home, especially to teachers. In bringing new customs and social ideals to the people of China, we shall have failed if we do not at the same time bring new moral and spiritual ideals. That must be an integral part of the program of those who are, and of the greater number of students of the social sciences in America who I hope soon will be, seeking to bring about the social evangelization of China.

<sup>5</sup>Gamble, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

## THE WORLD AS A GROUP CONCEPT

By EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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Inasmuch as sociology has assumed the study of group phenomena as its field, one of its obligations is that of considering the world as a social group. The problem that is thus presented is almost insuperable, but the items of progress in this connection are encouraging.

The succession of horde, tribe, tribal confederacy, city-state, feudal state, monarchical state, and democratic nation-state leads logically to a next stage, namely, a world community. An increasing number of persons are attaining a scale of world attitudes. Christianity's fundamental propositions of a brotherhood of man and a Fatherhood of God, while indistinctly drawn ideas, are noteworthy. World attitudes have led to world organizations, hundreds of which have been established in the last seventy-five years. Although these are voluntary institutions with little power of enforcement of rules in a world way, and although they are functioning largely as social units in their own behalf rather than in behalf of world advance, nevertheless they are creating a world opinion, and affording increasing opportunity for co-operative international activities.

Religion, business, science, and art alike have leaped the boundaries of nations, and are functioning on the basis of the world as a group unit. Foreign travel, the universal language of the motion picture, the international press associations are indirectly pushing forward the idea of the world as a group concept. Improvements in rapid communication, including radio telegraphy and telephony, are annihilating geographic distances between population

centers and bringing civilization together daily around a world conference table. Moreover, the essential unity of human minds everywhere has been established and lends color to the proposition of the world as a group concept.

The Hague Tribunal and international law with all their world responsibility implications, although helpless in a real international crisis, serve to command the respect of the nations for the settlement of many ordinary disputes. The League to Enforce Peace set a new world ideal clearly before public opinion, while the formation of a League of Nations constituted another step in the direction of world community. The Washington Conference of Limitation of Armaments, while based on the dubious principle that independent nations should come to agreements on world matters without giving up even a small degree of sovereignty to a world organization, may be reviewed, however, as promoting the growth of a world public opinion, a world conscience, and an open world diplomacy.

At best, however, the principles of international law, and of all agreements made between nations as sovereign groups, are likely to break down because of the absence of an adequate coercive force to compel a self-centered nation to obey. Moreover, the absence of the world concept in the minds of national leaders in a tangible sense prevents them from judging their official acts in the light of world needs, and thus leads them, as Germany was led, to postulate false national values and ideals.

Before any League or Association of Nations can hope to succeed or before we can speak of abolishing war, the majority of the people in the leading nations will need to learn the meaning of the concept of the world as a social group, to think in world terms, and for a period of time long enough to enable such attitudes to become habits. They will need to learn to judge the acts of their

respective nations from the standpoint of world welfare, but this they cannot do until local, provincial, and national thinking is supplemented by world thinking. There is an abundance of local minds, but only a few world minds capable of grasping the details of world problems in their full significance. World minds can be created by developing habits of thinking about world problems.

Despite the progress which is being made, the people of the different leading nations as a class have not yet sensed the meaning of world community. The world has reached the point where public opinion speaks of Western civilization or Eastern civilization, and where the differences between the two, not the likenesses, are receiving the attention of hectic and spectacular movements on both sides of the Pacific. The average members of the Western social order are widely proclaiming the superiority of Western civilization. They fail to study, either at all or with unprejudiced minds, the worthy points of Eastern development; they see chiefly its defects. They even fail to feel humble because of the weaknesses of Western civilization. Likewise, many of the adherents of Eastern civilization are silently and politely feeling a sense of pity for Western chauvinists. Rabindranath Tagore freely expresses himself, calling Western society black in certain essentials; while another leader, Ghandi, openly repudiates many of the fundamentals of the Western social order.

From the constructive side, we may work out a conspectus of the best traits of Western civilization by following the path blazed by Charles A. Ellwood. These attributes may be divided into two groups, those derived from ancient life and those from modern (nineteenth and twentieth century) life. The two divisions contain four and three sets of factors respectively. (1) A set of ethical and religious values was derived from the Hebrews and

early Christians. In the former the major concept is justice; and in the latter, love. (2) A number of philosophical and esthetic values was contributed by the Greeks. (3) A set of administrative and legal values, stressing the rights of property, originated with the Romans. (4) A set of personal liberty values was developed by the early Teutons and given concrete modern expression under the *laissez faire* doctrine of the nineteenth century in Western Europe and the United States. Within recent decades three additional values have been produced by Occidentalism, namely, (5) scientific methods, (6) business and industrial techniques, and (7) as an antidote to economic extremes, humanitarian values.

For purposes of comparison an analysis of Eastern civilization may be suggested here. Orientalism is known (1) for its self-sacrifice values, which to the Oriental makes Occidentalism seem synonymous with organized selfishness. (2) There is the contemplativeness of Orientalism culminating in metaphysics. (3) In the East there is custom veneration, for parents, for established ways, for the naturally and socially stable phases of life, and for law and order. (4) There is a set of human courtesy and appreciative values, crystallizing in conventional standards. (5) Orientalism is esthetic and mystically, not rationalistically, philosophic. (6) Orientalism is noted for its sense of social solidarity, which produces a strong sentiment of patriotism and social obligation. The social group and its standards are the major concepts and the individual, the minor. In the East the family group is the unit, as compared with the individual in the West. (7) The Oriental lives in generalizations rather than in particularizations—a principle which is fundamental to the Oriental's other traits.

When the positive elements in Western and Eastern civilizations are brought together, certain antagonisms are

evident. For example:

The rational versus the mystically philosophic  
Particularization versus generalization  
The individual over against the family unit  
Horizontal love versus vertical love  
Facts versus concepts  
Individualism versus solidarity  
Personality versus impersonality  
Liberty versus formality  
Action versus contemplation  
Finding versus losing  
Dominating versus appreciating  
Acquiring versus understanding  
The physical versus the psychical  
Anxiety versus tranquility  
The means of life versus the sake of living

These contrasts, some of which have been stated by scholars such as Inazo Nitobe and K. S. Inui, upon reflection provide nothing less than adequate bases for building a world community that will be superior to either Western or Eastern civilization. Many of them are superficial in character; they do not represent unreconcilable opposites but differences in degree. Many of them are on the surface of life. The rationalist is also a mystic, but less mystical than the true mystic. The latter is also a rationalist, but less of a rationalist than the true rationalist. He who particularizes also generalizes and assumes generalizations, but less so than does the true generalizationist; the latter in turn also particularizes but to a lesser degree than does the thorough-going particularist. Thus we might continue throughout the list of contrasts. After, all, both Occidentalism and Orientalism are the products of group life of humans, and in the deepest fundamentals hence may be expected to be similar.

If this presentation is not convincing and the opponent of world community should persist in emphasizing contradictions, it may be stated that the laws of human nature, whether of the East or West, are evidently of the same pattern as the laws of physical nature and the universe. In these realms we find harmony built out of so-called opposites. The centrifugal and centripetal forces

operate to produce a universe, and the laws of heredity and of variation function together in producing standardized species and races. If we hold to the theory that ours is a dualistic universe, we may well stress the fact that it is a *uni*-verse. There is one harmony, and within this harmony there are two general sets of apparently contradictory elements, centripetal and centrifugal, heredity and variation, stability and change, light and darkness, evolution and revolution, individualism and solidarity, conflict and co-operation, hate and love. The concept of the world as a group unit involves a synergizing of Occidentalism and Orientalism, and is based on universal grounds and social logic.

It now remains to indicate some of the rising tendencies of the world as a social group. (1) The world as a community unit is becoming psychically one faster than racially one. Mankind had a common origin, but dispersed in various directions over the earth. In migrating, man encountered environments, and became differentiated into races and cultures. The cultures are now being united. The inventions in communication have brought the people of the world into close contact, and made possible the production of a world civilization. The common culture will perhaps always show marked variations, but its unity is apparently fundamental. Inasmuch as the different climatic regions of the earth will continue to function in producing dark and light-skinned races, and sunny and serious people, distinct races biologically will probably remain, although an increasing amount of racial admixture, intermarriage, and amalgamation may be expected to take place.

(2) The world as a group unit is being characterized by an expansion of the individual's sense of ethical responsibility. The concept of progress is probably marked by this phenomenon more than by any other. Moreover, it



is only a puny conception of man's ethical possibilities which would deny the continued expansion of man's sense of social responsibility—to include all mankind.

(3) Human civilization is slowly moving toward a world political structure superior in strength to the most powerful nations today, and yet jealously guarding the needs of individual nations, both large and small. There is no reason why it may not be built out of the virtues of present-day nations; it probably will not abolish nations, but foster them as long as they work for the planetary good. It will undoubtedly do away with hyper-nationalism, provincialism, and chauvinism. It can hardly function well unless it eliminates the balance of power theory, the secret treaty habit, and territorial aggrandizement schemes.

(4) The world as a group unit is becoming democratic; moreover, history throws overwhelming doubt on the possibility of a world political structure being built out of autocratic principles without carrying in itself the elements of decay and self-destruction. Rulership from the top down exclusively, bears its own seeds of destruction in the prolonged power which it gives the few over the many. Through autocracy, even the education of the multitude can be subverted.

The evidence indicates that not autocracy but aristocracy will exist with democracy in world community. The tendency is toward a democratic aristocracy, an aristocracy that is being guided by the needs of the many, that is not wasting itself in extravagant living, that endeavors to stimulate all individuals to reach increasingly higher levels of social achievement, and thus create a democracy of social aristocrats, of superior men and women with unselfish super-social attitudes.

Industrial democracy is developing as a characteristic of the world as a social group. Neither labor nor capital

is entitled to full control. One has as its chief goal, capital; the other, wages; both these ends are materialistic, low grade, and in conflict at times with democratic and spiritual values. According to present knowledge, an enduring world community will place service values in control, not only of labor and of capital, but also of all occupational and professional activities of man. Individuals in increasing numbers are striving with one another in rendering service. Profitism and speculation are being slowly supplanted by the service attitude. A creditable advance has already been made in putting the service standard in charge of several professions, such as the ministry, teaching, social work, the judiciary, medicine.

(5) The world as a group unit is becoming increasingly spiritual. The trend of evolution is unmistakably from the dominance of the physical forces to control by spiritual forces. The psychic factors in civilization have been gradually emerging into positions of control. The need for decades has been urgent for the establishment of a universal language, common to all mankind. A truly international university would further the evolution of world community. Clearly some force, such as Christianity's dynamic of love, is needed in order to maintain in effect the implications of the world as a social group. Humanitarianism is not enough, for it has no goal outside itself, and is apt to become self-centered and professional. The Christian principle of love is humanitarian, but more—its ultimate goal is located outside and beyond humanity. Thus it becomes a dynamic force for perpetually putting new and sacrificial living into civilization everywhere. Science has invented such powerful engines of human destruction that the people of the world are not safe until they learn to appreciate the manifold implications of the concept of the world as a group, and on the basis of good will to develop habits of appropriate behavior.

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# Journal of Applied Sociology

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

OUR CONTEMPORARY which is published at the University of Southern California, *The Personalist*, is establishing a splendid and deserved reputation for itself as a scholarly journal of philosophy, theology, and literature. Its editor and founder, Dr. Ralph Tyler Flewelling, has succeeded in establishing a cultural and thought-generating enterprise.

THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY, which has increased its size fifty per cent in the past year and which is contemplating further expansion, will increase its subscription price to two dollars after January 1, 1923. Until that date new subscriptions and renewals will be received at the rate of one dollar and fifty cents. As heretofore, all editorial, managerial, and literary work on the JOURNAL will be done without remuneration, and all funds will be used to pay the costs of printing and publishing. The promotion committee of the JOURNAL, under the chairmanship of Dr. William C. Smith, is steadily increasing its activities.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS to this issue include Dr. Clarence M. Case, chairman of the Division of Sociology in the University of Iowa. Dr. Case has been a member of the Summer Session faculty of the University of Southern California, giving courses in Human Races and Cultures, and Democracy and Progress. Willis W. Clark, A.M., has achieved remarkable success in social research, particularly at the California Bureau of Research. Mr. Y. Kamii, A.B., is engaged in educational work in California and especially Americanization activities. Ralph F. Burnight, A. M., has recently returned from the University of Peking where he was a member of the faculty for two years as the chosen honor representative abroad of the student body of the University of Southern California.

## News Notes

THE VISIT of Professor John L. Gillin of the University of Wisconsin to Southern California at the close of last semester was a direct stimulus to numbers of social workers and persons interested in applied sociology.

THE DEATH of Simon N. Patten in July at the age of seventy removes from life one whose keen pen has long been active in analyzing the problems in social and economic thought. He will be remembered for his theory of pain economy and pleasure economy, although this idea is only one of many of his original interpretations.

THE DIVISION OF SOCIAL WORK of the University of Southern California in June, 1922, graduated its second class, which this year numbered seventeen, fourteen receiving Certificates in Social Work, and three the advanced recognition represented by the Diploma in Social Work. These persons were: Alice M. Fesler, A.M., Rosalie B. Fowler, A.M., and Marguerite Monroe, A.M.

A CONFERENCE on Social Studies in the Secondary Schools was held in Bovard Administration Building, Los Angeles, in July, under the direction of Professors William C. Smith, Clarence M. Case, and Clarence E. Rainwater. Opinion was strong favoring the movement now gaining ground in the United States to make the social studies the central core of the secondary school curriculum.

THE ADVERSE DECISION of the Supreme Court of the United States with reference to the child labor law is unique in that it is based on an interpretation of the motives behind the law. The fact that the law uses an interstate commerce prohibition in order to stop child labor is held to invalidate it. Apparently, the remaining method of solving the child labor problem must be utilized, namely, an amendment to the Constitution.

DR. ALVA W. TAYLOR, in an address at the University of Southern California recently, discussed the question: "What's on the Worker's Mind?" He stated that labor wants (1) a better hazard in life—more wages; (2) security in his job; (3) more leisure, especially for the later years of life; (4) a larger part in citizenship with the stress on human protection more than on property protection behind the law; and (5) a new social adjustment, such as that advocated in the Social Creed of the Churches.

## Book Notes

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGION. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. Macmillan, 1922, pp. xv+323.

This treatise is probably the most important analysis of religion from the scientifically sociological viewpoint that has been written. It represents a long day's journey in advance of anything in print in its field. It is not only scientific and sociological, but it offers a larger and more constructive interpretation of Christianity than has heretofore been given the world. It contributes sociologic content to personal religion in a way that identifies religion with all that is wholesome. It is both evolutionary and deeply spiritual without being inconsistent, making the religious cant of the hour look pitiful, and causing the dominating materialism to sink into a subordinate place. The book is not only a discussion of the reconstruction of religion, but also, and even more important in a sense, a virile treatment of the reconstruction of society.

E. S. B.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. By L. T. HOBBHOUSE. Holt, 1922, pp. xiii+246.

From the standpoint of social philosophy the author postulates in an experimental way a conception of the harmonious fulfilment of human capacity and inquires into the conditions of its realization. He argues against the workman's "right," as such, to wages and the millionaire's "right," as such to wealth; against individuals receiving the social increment ("if this value came back to the town collectively, the increase of population would pay its own way"); and against production for private profit under social control. The arguments are incisive and well supported.

E. S. B.

WALL SHADOWS. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. Putnam, 1922, pp. xvii+168.

The author analyzes the attitudes of prisoners and makes a plea for what he calls "prison democracy," which is the same idea that T. M. Osborne has developed through prison welfare leagues. The evil that society through its prisons does to offenders is herein depicted vividly. Brutality is pronounced a constant factor in prison organization. The prison is assumed to make social lives out of helpless men living under unsocial and anti-social conditions. The author is on untenable ground when he calls punishment immoral and useless, unless by punishment he means brutality.

NEW HOMES FOR OLD. By S. P. BRECKINRIDGE, HARPER BROS., 1921, pp. xvii+356.

This is the sixth of eleven volumes on Americanization Studies being prepared under the direction of Mr. Allen T. Burns; it deals with the problems of family readjustment which every immigrant has to face on entering America. It is an attempt to study and more completely devise methods for receiving these immigrants and for "interpreting to them the changed surroundings in which they must find a home." The materials collected were from case work agencies actually dealing with these problems, from interviews with leaders of various national groups and from schedules obtained from ninety families, thus giving a scientific as well as a human interest, value to the study. Through these concrete examples the author is able to offer valuable suggestions for improving the type of work now being done in this field and to set a high standard for methods of approaching the problems studied.—A. M. F.

COMMUNITY LIFE AND CIVIC PROBLEMS. By HOWARD C. HILL, University of Chicago High School. Ginn and Co., 1922, pp. xx+582.

In this commendable attempt to get away from the traditional presentation of the civics for high school pupils, the author has divided the text into four parts, the first three of which deal with groups, such as the family, school, and community; the second, with community problems, such as health, police, recreation, and immigration; the third, with industrial society, emphasizing exchange of goods, communication, labor and capital; and then follows four chapters on government and politics. Elementary sociology, economics, and civics are thus combined on the basis of the dominant group theory of sociology in a way which will probably make a better introductory "social science" course for high schools than any other yet devised. The reviewer, however, doubts whether combined glimpses of sociology, of economics, and of civics will fulfill the purpose for they are intended.—E. S. B.

WORKING WITH THE WORKING WOMAN. By CORNELIA STRATTON PARKER. Harper & Bros., 1922, pp. xxi+246.

While working for two weeks or so at a time in several types of industry in disguise, Mrs. Parker reports the attitudes of her fellow women workers, showing the superficiality of the thought, life, and interests of the rank and file of working women. She urges a solution of the labor-capital problem through securing a better understanding of laborer by employer and vice versa.

**THE HISTORY OF HUMAN MARRIAGE.** By EDWARD WESTERMARCK. Macmillan, London, 1921. Fifth edition, 3 vols., pp. xlii+1753.

Although this is a new work rather than a new edition, the fundamental ideas have not been greatly affected. Some positions taken in the earlier editions have been strengthened by additional data. To take but a single example, the various theories of promiscuity were briefly opposed but now the author masses more than two hundred pages of material against them. The data which are drawn from ethnological rather than from historical sources present a great mass of materials in regard to the practices found among many of the simpler groups. A work of this kind, moreover, is invaluable to anyone who is interested in present-day problems of the family. Such a study will give some idea of the changes in the nature of the family that have taken place and that tend to give an optimistic outlook, for we can then see some hope of moving beyond the present conditions. A study of this kind gives an idea of unvarnished original nature, without the artificial conventions of the present day, and with this foundation laid bare, programs for future reconstruction can be laid out more safely. W. C. S.

**INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.** By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. University of Southern California Press, 1922, pp. 242.

During the four years past which this syllabus has been out of print, the demand for it has remained strong. Hence, at the request of the publishers of the volume, the author has made such revisions as would bring the content up to date. The general plan and basic materials of the first edition have not been disturbed.

Upon examination of the persistence of the demand on the part of teachers for this syllabus, it has been found that two factors are outstanding. First, there is a preference by many persons for presenting the social science viewpoint, as distinguished from the sociological viewpoint. It is believed that the former renders a service all its own. Second, the outline form with its complete sentences or propositions has proved useful in provoking discussions. Many teachers report favorably upon the flexibleness of the syllabus.

**THE AMERICAN SPIRIT IN THE WRITINGS OF AMERICANS OF FOREIGN BIRTH.** Edited by ROBERT E. STAUFFER. Christopher Publishing House, 1922, pp. 185.

These selections, taken from the addresses and writings of twenty-six foreign-born Americans, such as Steiner, Riis, Antin, and others not so well known, range from one to eight printed pages in length; they are of distinct literary and civic merit.

PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL ECONOMY. By THOMAS NIXON CARVER, Harvard University, Ginn and Company, 1921, pp. vi+773.

In this virile work, Dr. Carver is unconventional and original in method, rigid in adherence to the principles of economics, and individualistic in social attitude. He presents a superb defense of thrift as an economic and social virtue, and an equally effective criticism of luxury. His appreciation of the need of transforming careless, extravagant United States into a prosperous, thrifty, work-bench nation is commendatory, providing he would add a socialization and moralization of the every-day business and industrial attitudes of people. Without social idealism and even international idealism our nation might grow increasingly prosperous and become another Germany in its self-conceit.

Dr. Carver has developed and strengthened his own economic theory under the cognomen of constructive liberalism, which while stressing initiative also holds that the individual will "without compulsion and under freedom of contract, do whatever is necessary for the needs of the community"—an expression of social idealism which perhaps only a few persons have realized in their own behavior but toward which the evolution of man is tending.—E. S. B.

SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS. By GROVE S. DOW. Crowell, 1922, pp. xiv+594.

The first edition of this book was published two years ago by Baylor University Press. The new edition has been enlarged without changing the plan of organization. It is hardly a principles of sociology, according to the subtitle, for "principles" properly speaking are scarcely treated as such. Two-thirds of the space is devoted to social problems, and the style is chiefly descriptive and informational rather than analytical. The book will interest either the public or the college student who wishes an introduction to the study of human society and its problems.

RURAL CHILD WELFARE. Edited by E. N. CLOPPER. Macmillan, 1922, pp. xvii+354.

In this study centering in the rural life of West Virginia but possessing wide implications, the student of applied sociology is introduced to concrete data concerning such topics as the rural home, the rural school, rural recreation, rural child dependency and delinquency, and rural child labor. Seven expert investigators have assisted Dr. Clopper in this noteworthy contribution to descriptive rural sociology.



LESTER F. WARD, A PERSONAL SKETCH. By EMILY P. CAPE. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1922, pp. xi+208.

The increasing number of followers of Lester F. Ward will welcome this latest addition to the data concerning their leader. Mrs. Cape has supplemented Dr. Ward's mental autobiography, the *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, with many significant and hitherto unpublished touches of the life of a man whose days were characterized by democratic simplicity of living, and a deeply emotional love of truth, and whose main thesis of sociological thought, namely, the increasing importance of the psychic factors in civilization, has secured for him a position of first rank among sociologists. Mrs. Cape has thrown new light on Ward's marvelous power of inhibition, prodigious ability to work, amazing thoroughness, and courageous earnestness of purpose.

E. S. B.

PUBLIC OPINION. By WALTER LIPPMANN. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1921, pp. x+427.

In his characteristically original and keen vein, Mr. Lippmann attacks the problem of securing an organized intelligence that will neither be stereotyped nor subject to sentimentalism. Attention is centered on the newspaper which it is contended reflects today the defective organization of society. The author concludes that "public opinions must be organized *for* the press if they are to be sound, not *by* the press as is the case today," but neglects the fact that the powerful metropolitan press have a monopoly upon current means of organizing public opinion and distort or ignore attempts to organize an opinion that is contrary to their interests. The argument is brilliant rather than scientific, highly stimulating although not always convincing.

E. S. B.

CHURCH CO-OPERATION IN COMMUNITY LIFE. By PAUL L. VOGR. Abington Press, 1921, pp. 170.

Urges allocation of responsibility to one denomination or church body or another in each community, rather than the community or federated church of several denominations, and gives programs for rural community service.

PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ECONOMICS. By LIONEL D. EDIE. Crowell, 1922, pp. xiii+525.

The author, not unmindful of classical economics, discusses his subject in terms of the psychological approach, particularly of instincts; and indicates without discussing to any degree the fact that problems in economics are phases of social control.

## Literature Notes

*Whittier Scale for Grading Juvenile Offenders.* Offences of boys are scientifically graded and classified in this monograph, producing a standard score sheet and a delinquency index. Willis W. Clark, Bul. No. 11, California Bureau of Juvenile Research, April, 1922.

*The Transplanted Jew.* Shows how the Americanization of the Jew is a far more complex problem than the Americanization of non-Jewish immigrants. David Goldberg, *Forum*, August, 1922, 709-16.

*The Future of Evolution.* A not altogether hopeful picture is given of the continuance of social evolution. The possibilities of progress rest on education, eugenics, and enlightened effort. E. G. Conklin, *Yale Rev.*, July, 1922, 748-68.

*The End of Race Migrations.* Contends that we are inaugurating a new stage in human evolution in which mass movements of population from nation to nation will no longer be permitted. H. P. Fairchild, *Yale Rev.*, July, 1922, 826-38.

*The Socialization of Juvenile Court Procedure.* Describes the process of introducing the spirit of humanism and also scientific methods into work with delinquents. Miriam Van Waters, *Jour. of Crim. Law and Criminology*, May, 1922, 61-69.

*A Sociological Interpretation of the Russian Revolution.* An analysis is made of the folkways and psycho-social conditions which produced the Russian Revolution. Jerome Davis, *Polit. Science Quarterly*, June, 1922, 227-50.

*Child Labor and Child Nature.* Vocational guidance is here viewed not in the light of the needs of industry or production, but of the development of the child. R. G. Fuller, *Pedagogical Seminary*, March, 1922, 38-62.

*Education in Sex and Heredity: a Practical Program.* Under the form of socio-biology the child according to this program is introduced in the elementary grades to the fundamentals of sex hygiene in indirect, scientific ways. Henry M. Grant, *Jour. of Social Hygiene*, Jan. 1922, 5-22.

*The Conditions of Social Progress.* The concept of progress is derived from measurement by scientific methods of different points or organizations in the evolutionary process. The chief evidence of progress is the change that has occurred from a noncommissioned society to an intelligently and socially conscious society. L. L. Bernard, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, July, 1922, 21-48.

*The Evolution of Modern Penology.* Argues against the maintenance of criminal law and criminal procedure and urges the substitution therefor of a permanent body of experts drawn from the law, biology, psychology, sociology, and economics, to determine guilt and also punishment. H. E. Barnes, *Polit. Science Quarterly*, July, 1922, 251-80.

*The Boundaries of Society.* As a working definition society is defined as a unit of co-operation. The law of social change is postulated as follows: The greater the power of a society and the less the pressure of environment, the larger the society and the more decentralized. Stephen C. Pepper, *Internat. Jour. of Ethics*, July, 1922, 420-41.

*Journalism, Ethics, and Common Sense.* In solving the problem of low newspaper ethics, the hope does not lie in millionaires, but in communities which are becoming democratically conscious and which through co-operation, education, and moral pressure may demand a more ethical journalism. Victor S. Yarros, *Intern. Jour. of Ethics*, July, 1922, 410-19.

*Instinctive and Cultural Factors in Group Conflicts.* The instinctive personal tendency to fight is not to be identified with large-scale modern warfare, which is largely a socially acquired phenomenon, based in part on an overpopulation that has become divided into biológico-psychological units, consciously fanned into racial-national hatreds. Clarence M. Case, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, July, 1922, 1-20.

*The United States and World Organization.* Urges working toward the realization of the principle of world organization through the holding of two series of conferences, one controlled by the plan of equal representation of nations, and the other, by the plan of representation in proportion to population—these conferences to work actively on the problems of peace. Edwin D. Dickinson, *Amer. Polit. Science Rev.*, May, 1922, 183-93.

## Round Table Notes

The earth is one, but it is a house of as many mansions as there are forms of life. *MacIver*.

The World War with all its horrors is but a brutal acknowledgment that we have not yet learned how to live harmoniously and justly. *Blackmar*.

What we find that labor wants, as a class, is wages, hours, and security, without financial responsibility, but with power enough to command respect. *Commons*.

The progress of the community as individuals or in a specific direction may, for example, bring about conditions which mean the eventual destruction of the community as a whole. *Park and Burgess*.

A more rational and socialized form of Christianity—a Christianity in harmony with modern science and modern democracy—is needed if the world is not to be dominated by sheer atheism or an agnostic scientific positivism. *Ellwood*.

So then, social soil analysis I propose as the next step in social service, not excluding problems of technique and methodology, but adding to them a study of what kind of vital elements and currents of life are needed for the effective working of any device or mechanism. *Allen T. Burns*.

By sheer individual effort and individually controlled organization, Americans have created in less than three hundred years the greatest aggregation ever seen, of industry and graft, of capital and wreckage, of toil and luxury, of comfort and misery, of sanctification and crime. *Giddings*.

By setting to work deliberately to balance up our population, making ignorance and lack of skill to disappear, and making technical training and constructive talent to increase, we can, in a short space of time, make low wages and poverty a thing of the past. What is even better, we can do this, and still leave everyone a free man. *Carver*.

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

AMONG THE CONTRIBUTORS to this issue of our *Journal*, Dr. Iva Lowther Peters may be mentioned for her sane and energetic leadership of women, not only as vocational adviser at Goucher College, but in a larger way in the region of which Baltimore is the center. Dr. Carl S. Patton is nationally known not only as a former associate of the late Washington Gladden, but for the warm humanism, the virility, and broad-minded non-ecclesiastical nature of his religious teachings. Dr. J. Harold Williams is building up a splendid reputation as a research scholar in the field of delinquency. Miss Nora Sterry has been an exceptionally active head of a widely known neighborhood school. Mrs. Rosalie B. Fowler has written for us before out of a wealth of experience as a child welfare worker.

SUBSCRIPTIONS WILL BE received for one or more years at the present rate of one dollar and fifty cents a year. After January first, the rate becomes two dollars a year. Several persons and institutions have already renewed their subscriptions for a term of two, three, or more years at the present rate.

DR. GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD will contribute an article to the next issue of the *Journal* under the title: "The Matrimonial Barometer in times of War and Peace." Dr. E. B. Reuter of the University of Iowa will also contribute to the next issue the results of an important study on "Sex Distribution in the Negro and Mulatto Population of the United States."

THE QUESTION repeatedly rises: Shall the United States cancel the war debts to her of the Allies? To give the Allies this financial aid would be less than the United States did in sending her armies. The cancelling of these debts may be looked upon as another gift to help make the world safe for democracy, but before the debts are cancelled the United States may well insist that the Allies shift from the present war basis to an organized peace basis. At present it appears that if the Allies were released from their war obligations to the United States, their war basis would be furthered. They need to reorganize their politico-financial program and put it on the basis of co-operative national good will—a herculean task that cannot be done in a moment—as a condition of the cancellation of their indebtedness to our country. With billions of dollars annually being openly expended at present for intoxicating liquors in Europe, her financial dilemma merits a little less than a full measure of sympathy.

IF YOU HAVE caught the vision of the undertaking which the *Journal* represents, and can afford to do so, will you not become a contributing subscriber? Your regular subscription just meets our printing expenses, but a contributing subscription of five dollars or ten or more, will enable us to add more pages to each issue of the *Journal*, and thus increase its usefulness in its program of social improvement. We are not at a loss for articles for publication, and our editorial and managerial staffs are willing to give their time to the work without pay, if by contributing subscriptions, the printing expenses of an enlarged *Journal* may be met. The list of contributing subscribers is at present small, but growing. Do you want to do a fine thing for the work which the *Journal* is trying to accomplish? If so, will you join the contributing subscribers?

## THE NEW PLACE OF WOMAN IN COMMUNITY LIFE

By IVA LOWTHER PETERS

*Professor of Economics and Sociology, Goucher College*

Community is the common living of human beings in habitual relationships. There are recognizable signs of this common life, like ways of doing and thinking treasured by the group as jealously as material possessions, certain group memories, traditions and beliefs. In this psychic unity all of the group participate despite the fact that the material out of which community is made is human beings with their manifold and subtle individual differences. Modern psychology is uncovering the mechanisms by means of which difference is minimized and unity secured. The stimuli of group life begin to act on the human infant with his marvelous learning capacity at a period much earlier than has been realized, teaching him the lessons of conformity through stimuli to which the youngest member of the community is sensitive. We owe to the Russian investigators, chief among them the great physiologist Pavlov, the discovery of the association of stimuli of the most disparate character according to laws in a large measure similar to the laws of the association of ideas. Since psychological investigation indicates that the child's innate tendencies are relatively simple, his training for community life is accomplished by the gradual organization of the conditioned reflexes that we call habits. On such a foundation do the great social institutions rest.

But although the first conditionings of well brought up infants may lead to conformity to group ways, we have not by this early enforcement of conformity heard the last of

individual difference. It is a sociological truism that it is only against a background of well organized community life that the individual has opportunity for development of his specific abilities. The world about us today shows all too plainly that group destruction means individual destruction, while group welfare means individual welfare. Prof. MacIver has called attention to Mr. Arnold Bennett's "Old Wives' Tales" as one of the most essentially gloomy novels of our age, a picture of the tragic destiny of detached individuality "passing through wanton experience to a ludicrous conclusion in old age and death." None of the characters attain individual distinction by giving themselves up to a cause greater than themselves.

But it is not to be inferred that organized community life of necessity causes the emergence of the individual. On the contrary, there is a seamy side to this interdependence. For long ages there have been submerged classes of the utmost importance in the upbuilding of community life whose modes of expression have been too long standardized to permit of the free play of personality. Ancient classifications based on crude differences of importance in primitive life have persisted to a recent period with resultant imprisonment of human energy. Of this sort is the persistent division of communities in their interests on the basis of sex.

The early differentiation of community interests on a sex basis in all probability grew out of a common sense of division of labor suited to the local situation. Some of the divisions which were later to seem like arbitrary exclusions may have been in the beginning protective limitations of the tasks of the primitive burden bearer. But whatever the origin, when the social organization of modern civilized communities emerges into history there were many activities of the man's world in which the woman had little part, notably those of commerce and politics. So complete had



been the exclusion that the belief in many cases almost amounted to a religion that there were psychological differences corresponding to this division of interests. In consequence, although within the shelter of the institutional life which had grown up about her, woman worked, but there are many kinds of remunerative work she could not do. With the development of a money economy she had become, and remains, the poor sex.

Without attempting within the limits of this article to review the explanations of the changes we see about us which are sweeping us from our old moorings, we shall say that the institutional life of woman is changing at a rate inconceivable to an older world. If it were not for some of the psychic inheritance it might even seem waste of time to rehearse any part of the tale of a world in which four walls could restrain woman from any extra-mural activities in which she might choose to engage. And in so far as we can see the New Society taking shape it will be increasingly ready to utilize her abilities. The old world on which we may yet learn to look back with some regret had so long held to its cherished belief in the fixity of the social role of woman that, entwined as this belief was about the earliest affections, it may have taken a struggle for group survival to uproot it. It is even probable that a period of warfare in which the country came to understand that it needed all of the brains and ability it could muster without regard for sex was the final and deciding factor. The unmistakable fact was disclosed by the psychological work with the draft army that there is a limitation placed by nature on the amount of human material out of which democracy can make its leaders. In an institutionalized and ordered world we might ignore such a momentous fact, but not in a changing world calling for all of the creative ability that it can muster. As a result, the trained woman who before the war rather cautiously embroidered on the theme of

the Model Woman has become in ever increasing numbers an integral part of many activities from which she was formerly excluded by convention. Out of the confusion of conflicting ideals is emerging a new evaluation of woman in terms of her possible contribution to community life. On her part, there must be a service which does not shirk the attempt to solve some of the problems resulting from her assumption of new relationships.

There is an increasing body of fact available which indicates that the recognition of the contribution of women in their new relationships is taking practical forms. The decreasing number in the blind alley occupations, the improvement in economic status, and the relatively large number in the fields calling for specialization, show an effective demand for their services together with an assumption on their part of the responsibilities involved. The careful analysis of the occupational figures of the 1910 census made by Dr. Elizabeth Kemper Adams in her study of "Women Professional Workers" showed that between 1880 and 1910 there was a steady decrease in the percentages of women employed in unskilled and personal services. As a result of the changes resulting from the war we may expect to find "more startling evidence of the emergence of women from the ranks of the unskilled."<sup>1</sup> In that pre-war period the relative increase of women in some of the professions is enlightening, even though the actual numbers are too small in many cases to indicate more than desire on the part of the women. Studies must be made of more recent years to show reciprocal desire on the part of the community.

Few figures are more significant to those interested in the changing status of women in the working community than those available for the teaching profession. For many

<sup>1</sup>Adams, Elizabeth Kemper. *Women Professional Workers*, p. 22. New York, 1921.

years after the privileges of a college education had been granted this remained the one lady-like profession, to which one could turn with least loss of social status, but from which little could be expected in the way of financial return. About it clung some of the aroma of religious devotion. Teachers were often earnestly assured that they could never expect to get their reward on earth, with the intimation that they might have extra consideration in another world. The exodus from teaching which set in with the opening of other opportunities at the beginning of the war showed quite conclusively that conditions would have to be improved for teachers in this world. Miss Van Kleeck's census of college women in 1915 showed that already the tide had set in against teaching. Of the graduates of eight eastern colleges for women and Cornell University who were studied and who had been gainfully employed, 83.5% were teachers, while 22% were in other occupations. Of those at work when the census was taken, 70.3% were teachers, with 29.7% in other professions. Of employed women graduating between 1880 and 1890, 27.5% had gone into other professions than teaching; of women graduating between 1910 and 1915, 34.5%. Since the war, the increased opportunities of women in other occupations have made it impossible to attract women back to teaching in any such proportion as before, in spite of the increased remuneration. A study of the vocational choices and actual placement of the students of one of the eastern women's colleges<sup>2</sup> for the past three years shows this tendency to spread into the other professions. This college, because of its location and connection with many of the war offices, sent a large number of students into war work, so that the loss to teaching may have been a little more severe than would be found in studies of institutions more remote from the excitement of war activities. On the other hand,

<sup>2</sup>Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland.

it has a popular and highly efficient department of education, it is situated in a city and state in which the working conditions and standards for teachers are high and constantly improving. A questionnaire issued to the students of this college in 1920 asking for their vocational choices revealed the fact that the ideal of self-support was very strong. Only 12.9% had no intention of self-support; a number of these expected to marry soon after graduation. The percentage of seniors who gave teaching as their first vocational choice was higher than for any of the other classes, 44.7%. Only about one-third of each of the lower classes are looking toward teaching. Among the other first choices, social work, secretarial work, and laboratory work headed the list, with a spread among dietetics, medicine, business, journalism, music, design, and architecture. The first placements of this class (1920) were so much affected by the continued demand for war workers that they are not significant as showing post-war conditions. But the actual placements, as distinguished from vocational choices, of the classes of 1921 and 1922 show about one-third of these classes going into teaching, the latter class showing a slightly lower percentage of placement in teaching than the former. The percentage of those going into social work does not indicate that those diverted from teaching go into that field to any great extent. The increasingly exacting demands made on those who choose social work as a vocation do not permit immediate placement except at apprentice work, but rather carry those intending to become social workers into the graduate and professional schools. Those diverted from teaching go into the newer professions which do not appear to any extent on the lists even as far back as 1920: department store executives, textile specialists, personal workers, advertising specialists, assistant buyers, etc. Just what will be the final outcome of this serious diversion from

older occupations, it is difficult to say. But if the present campaign against illiteracy is to be effective, a larger proportion of trained women must be retained for the schools.

One of the promising things to which we can look forward as a result of this mutual attraction of the trained woman and organizations into which she is going with her fresh point of view, will be, we hope, an increased socialization of business. This new approach to economic problems should aid in some of the vexatious questions of human relations. The establishment of welfare departments with college women at their heads shows that their special gifts are to be utilized. Many of these are too new to give results, but a combination of welfare work of this kind with the application of modern psychology is one of the promising steps which have resulted from the breakdown of the old boundaries of women's life and work.

After a few years of work in the interval between college and marriage, a large percentage of these women who are out in the working community will go into homes to become wives, housekeepers, and mothers. Some of them, either from choice or exigency, will contribute to the solution of the new relation which must be worked out between the husband who works and the wife who works. But in our generation most of those who marry will not continue to work for a wage. On the other hand, they are becoming more and more important members of the great club organizations of the country, the National Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, the National Association of Business and Professional Women, and the Association of University Women. A reading of the daily newspapers of our American cities shows that these organizations are allied with chambers of commerce, Rotary, and Kiwanis Clubs in community activities.

When American workers were organizing for what it

was expected would be the long strain of war, among the cautions given by our allies who wished to save us from some of their mistakes was, "Don't use volunteer workers for important ventures!" In connection with the rationing system and the public kitchens of England, Italy, Germany, and Austria, the volunteer worker had usually proven a failure. Enthusiastic while the excitement lasted, her interest all too often waned before the work was done. In our own plans, fortunately never necessary, the specialist had been substituted wherever possible. But what a community should have is the volunteer worker who has the specialist's point of view. If our present plans for the education of young women who are to be leaders work out well, it seems quite certain that we shall feel the effects of a new infusion into our community life.



A LETTER from a Southern sociologist contains the following interesting observations concerning the Ku Klux Klan:

"OTHERWISE STRONG ORGANIZATIONS are being divided on the Klan as an issue. Churches are developing Klan and anti-Klan groups. Even the little children, in their play, show the educational effects of the Klan's activities and advertising. It is common to see the children out on the streets and in their yards dressed in sheets and pillow cases for hoods. Hatred such as I never saw or experienced is being developed on every side. Unlawful acts by Negroes are on the increase, taking sudden jumps with every case published of punishment meted out by the Klan. There is now a rumor that some of the Negroes are organizing on the basis of revenge, agreeing among themselves that they will commit a certain number of depredations."

## MOVING PICTURES IN THE CHURCH

By CARL SAFFORD PATTON

*Pastor, First Congregational Church, Los Angeles*

Jesus dealt very little in abstractions. He spoke in terms of the practical and concrete. Especially He dealt largely in illustrations which were mostly stories. When He wanted to illustrate the forgiveness of God, He told a story about a boy who went away from home and made a fool of himself and finally came back; and when He wanted to illustrate the need of patience or persistence, He told a story about an unwilling judge who had to be importuned and besieged before he would do his duty. So for every occasion He had a story.

I cannot tell a good story every Sunday, but I have hit upon a substitute which seems to me much better than anything in the story line that I or any one man by himself could do. When I want to illustrate the necessity of manliness in religion, I take a moving picture made from Ralph Connor's "Sky Pilot," and put it on at my Sunday evening service. The picture itself, like the stories that Jesus told, is the larger part of the occasion. I preface it with hymns and prayers, read and sung from the screen by the congregation, and make a brief talk in which I try to make clear what the picture should teach the people. When I want to illustrate the working of Christianity in everyday life, the moving picture "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" meets the need. I have learned that there are plenty of good pictures, some distinctly religious, others with a clear and ringing moral lesson, and that these pictures will draw week after week the year round, a church full of people to see them. The people are reverent, they are inter-

ested, they are impressed. I do not believe that the same moral lessons driven home by the use of these pictures could be carried in so convincing a way to the people by any other means.

There was a time when churches refused to use organs, violins, or other aids to the worship of God. It is no wonder that most churches and preachers are afraid of the moving picture in the Sunday evening service. But the moving picture is the greatest tool for the inoculation of ideas, that has been perfected since the invention of printing. Why should preachers and churches content themselves with the criticism of those who abuse it, instead of themselves utilizing it for a high purpose?

I use great care in the selection of pictures, and show no picture in which any star appears whose moral standing so far as I know, is not perfectly good. I do not advertise the players. An operator cuts out of each picture such parts as I do not like in it. The picture as it appears on our church screen is as nearly as possible the impersonal telling of a story; but it is the telling of a good story by great artists. I cannot always get equally good pictures, but I did not always have equally good Sunday evening talks before I began the pictures. Now I always do have a house full of appreciative and interested people, most of whom are non-church-members and non-church-goers. They always seem to feel that my own purpose is an earnest and a devotional one, not a trivial or merely entertaining one.

I am often asked by other ministers how they can get the right sort of films for their Sunday evening services. There are in most large cities and notably in Los Angeles agencies which undertake to secure and distribute pictures for school and church use. For churches outside of this city, there is a Los Angeles agency which undertakes to make the selection of pictures. No matter how good taste



is exercised by any such agency, most ministers will feel obliged to see all their pictures before allowing them to be given in the church. However this Los Angeles agency is now serving many rural churches with very general satisfaction to them. I am often asked for a list of films which I have used and such a list is given here. I cite only those which I have used with the most satisfaction.

|                                 |                       |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| The Blue Bird                   | The Sky Pilot         |
| Passing of the Third Floor Back | The Wise Fool         |
| Jes' Call Me Jim                | The Ten Dollar Raise  |
| Behold My Wife                  | A Certain Rich Man    |
| Bunty Pulls the Strings         | Salvation Nell        |
| The Jackknife Man               | The Conquering Power  |
| The Greatest Love               | Miss Lulu Bett        |
| Milestones                      | The Little Minister   |
| The Inside of the Cup           | The Bonnie Briar Bush |
| Evangeline                      | The Swamp             |
| The Servant in the House        | Othello               |
| What Every Woman Knows          | Hush Money            |
| The Stream of Life              | The Ruling Passion    |
| One Man in a Million            | Your Best Friend      |
| Her Own Money                   |                       |

We have tried a few Biblical pictures, but they go only fairly well. The Biblical story which they are supposed to tell is always so old and generally so well known that the element of suspense and the interest that goes with it are usually missing. The Biblical pictures are liable to be misleading in various ways and they are rarely if ever so well made as the pictures made for the theatrical showings, some of which represent a very great expense, \$500,000, even a million dollars, it is reported. They are made by experts in acting, directing, and so on. The makers of Biblical pictures are not financially able to employ the same quality of talent, and so from an artistic and mechanical point of view their work is not so good. This is no criti-

cism upon them but a mere statement of the obvious fact. When Jesus wanted to illustrate a point, He did not relate some Old Testament story, He told a new story and He told a secular story, such for instance as that of the Prodigal Son, which we have made "sacred" by many years of Christian interpretation and which teaches a deep spiritual lesson but which is not in the ordinary sense a "pious" story. It is better on the screen Sunday evening to tell the same kind of a story about a modern boy than to re-tell the story of the Prodigal Son.

What people like moreover is a picture which tells a story. Scenics do not go far with them, and travel pictures soon lose their interest. The great item is the story. We prefer therefore to select our pictures from among those which are made for the regular theatre showing, and we select the very best from these. We believe that it is our duty to the people who come to us to give the very best in the way of pictures and music and everything else that we can. It is easy to talk about the number of bad pictures and there is enough to be said on that point. When one begins however to look for the good plays, such as are adapted to be given in church on Sunday evenings, it is surprising how many of them there are.

When a church is being constructed with a view to the use of moving pictures, the booth should be built into the original structure so that it does not show from the interior of the room in which it is used. This has for instance been done in the Congregational Church of Hollywood. The chief physical difficulty with showing pictures in many churches is that the auditoriums are too wide and not sufficiently deep. Too many people are seated at a wide angle from the screen and do not see the picture well. At least one hundred seats in my own auditorium are ill adapted for picture purposes.

I am often asked whether our moving pictures have pro-

duced any noticeable reaction upon our other services. This is a little difficult to say. Our morning congregations are growing all the time and are better at the present time for the season of the year than they were one and two years ago. Our Sunday School is also growing. It is perhaps fair to charge part of this growth to the evening service. What is more obvious is that the pastor has pretty nearly doubled the number of persons with whom he comes in touch. This is brought home to me by men whom I meet on the street-car and in various such places who say to me, "I have been at your evening services."

As to the character of the Sunday evening congregation, the change is most apparent. Nobody comes out of a sense of duty. It is made up of old people, middle-aged people, young people and children. My former Sunday evening congregation was from middle-age up, and contained nobody from middle-age down. The proportion of young men and women is large in the picture congregation. Boys and girls are many, but not enough of them ever to make disturbance or to make one wish there were fewer of them. The evening service is now a splendid recruiting place for the Church School, especially for the young men's and young women's classes. The attendants are largely non-church-going people. There are many apparently lonesome folks among them.

The first requirement for a picture to be shown in church is that it must be interesting, the next is that it must be clean, the next is that it must teach a wholesome lesson of some sort. It is the preacher's business to see what that lesson is and to enforce it upon the people. It must also be brief enough to leave room in the service for the preacher's talk and plenty of hymns and other devotional elements. When I went into this experiment, it would have been impossible to find a preacher in America who knew less about pictures than I did. I did not see one more than

two or three times a year, and therefore had the whole thing to learn. It has cost me a great deal of time but it has been a kind of an education in itself. Altogether I consider the use of moving pictures in the evening service to be the most interesting and profitable experiment in popular religion that I have ever tried.

I had to take my courage in both hands before I started this experiment and even so it threatened to ooze out before the experiment got well on its feet. But after the first few weeks of experimentation, I have had no doubt that by a judicious use of pictures, backed by song, prayer and scripture-reading the evening service, especially in downtown city churches, can be transformed from a great burden to a great opportunity. It cannot be done everywhere. It cannot be done anywhere without two or three times as much work as would go into the preparation of the ordinary Sunday evening service. But wherever there is a minister with courage and ingenuity and a sufficiently thick skin to try it, he can make his Sunday evening service a distinct contribution to the life of his community.



THE MOVEMENT looking toward an amendment to the Constitution which will make a Federal child labor law legal is steadily progressing. It is to be regretted that it was not possible to interpret the Constitution, a document that breathes the spirit of fair play, so that it would protect helpless children from greedy employers, for it would be better to expand the interpretation of the constitution rather than to make another amendment necessary.

# THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE IN SOCIAL WORK

By J. HAROLD WILLIAMS

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The best present-day conceptions of social work place it on a level with education, law, medicine, and other forms of public welfare service. It can be said to be no less important than any of these, because in its broadest meaning it embodies the human elements of all activities which make for social betterment. The members of any profession may well be proud when their work has attained the degree of development by virtue of which it may be truly said to be social work. Teachers are social workers when their teaching is so adapted to the needs of the community that it functions definitely toward the production of better citizens; lawyers are social workers when they use their power and influence toward the enactment of legislation which actually benefits the social mass; physicians are social workers when they serve human needs in a way which improves the physical qualities of the present and the coming generations.

But notwithstanding its self-evident importance, there has been no profession of social work. It lacks the organization elements which have long been conceded to the professions. Most persons who have engaged in social work have done so either as a by-product of the profession for which they are trained, or under the handicaps incident to the lack of public recognition. Too often it has been left to wholly untrained persons, whose only qualifications are their willingness to serve and an interest in human welfare more or less adequately conceived.

Fortunately, social work has advanced and demonstrated its value despite these limitations. The next logical step in the improvement of social work is the provision for systematic training. The professions of education, law and medicine are far ahead in this respect. Not only do they have well-equipped professional schools devoted exclusively to their respective problems, but the work of these schools is supported by legislation which requires such work as prerequisite to permission to practice. The teacher must be certificated, the lawyer and the physician must secure a license. This necessity for state approval is a safeguard alike to the practitioner and the public. Both are protected from the incompetent worker, and the public is assured of a reasonable standard of service. Better salaries and higher standards go hand in hand. We can conceive of no profession in which these factors are of greater importance than in social work.

There are, of course, many opinions relative to how social workers should be trained. It will be generally agreed that the training given should be of a high standard, and comparable in scope and intensity to the training provided for persons entering professions of similar importance. It is the purpose of this paper to emphasize one factor which is too often overlooked in the development of some vocations, but which, in the opinion of the writer, should be identified with the creation of the profession of social work if that new profession is to serve its greatest usefulness. The factor referred to is the acquirement of the scientific viewpoint. By this is meant the attitude of mind associated with the ability and desire to make systematic observations and draw rational conclusions therefrom.

Science does not make facts. It merely collects facts in sufficient quantities and arranges them in order, so that any person who sees them may be free to draw such conclusions as they seem to warrant. There is nothing mys-

tical or marvelous about the process. It is an attempt to describe what already is known to exist, but to describe it without prejudice or partiality. It is a safe and sane attitude, born of a desire to see things as they are, so that they may be more speedily and effectively arranged in their natural order.

The advance of social work to the standing of a profession will depend upon the extent to which a sufficient number of its members are scientific. They may not all make new discoveries or formulate new hypotheses concerning the structure and functions of society. But within the group of workers there should be an attitude, or frame of mind, which can readily associate itself with, and become a part of the scientific work which is carried on in the research laboratories and universities where such discoveries are made. Every social worker is, or ought to be, a systematic recorder of things as they are, and as such a recorder he becomes scientific.

This requires, first of all, the ability to adapt oneself to the scientific requirement, and the capacity to seek the truth. Darwin, notwithstanding the force of public opinion and long-standing prejudices regarding the origin and development of the human race, had the capacity to make independent investigations and to place, side by side, the facts which he observed, so that they could be viewed from an impartial standpoint. However far his conclusions may have been from those which we now hold on the basis of additional facts, his work is an illuminating example of the true scientific capacity. What we know about the origin of the species is attributable largely to the pioneer work of Darwin. What we may know in future years concerning poverty, delinquency, crime, and other social evils will depend upon the extent to which our social workers of today are possessed of the capacity to make correct observations.

The scientific point of view embodies the capacity to build upon facts which are everywhere observed, but which are little noticed by the general mass of the population, or else considered to be of little or no significance. We are told by a large watch manufacturing company, through an interesting series of historical notations, that Galileo, then a young man of nineteen, watching the chandelier swinging from the lofty ceiling of the cathedral at Pisa, deduced from its swinging the laws of the pendulum, the formulation of which made it possible for us to have clocks and watches today. The value of this gift to the world is beyond calculation. And yet thousands of persons had idly watched that swinging chandelier, and none, so far as we know, had deduced from it a single new thought. It is unlikely that Galileo himself ever suspected that much of the commercial and industrial development of the world would follow directly upon his discovery. Not all social workers can be Galileos, but some can and will make discoveries of equal importance with his, and all social workers who have the scientific point of view can and will contribute toward the ultimate formulation of the laws which control the human social machine.

Another factor involved in the scientific attitude is the ability to express findings and conclusions in a manner which will allow their application in a practical way to the problems which confront society. We are living in the age of applied science. That form of thinking which results in constructive planning for the improvement of public welfare is properly given first place in public support. Particularly in social work public co-operation is most likely to be secured where it is directed toward the solution of immediate problems.

The scientific viewpoint does not mean the absence or minimizing of human sympathy. The most successful social workers are those who not only are actuated chiefly by



a deep concern for human betterment and an understanding of human needs, but who have these qualities developed to the fullest degree. Like all other efforts, however, the efforts which are best appreciated are those which "work."

Granting the desirability of the scientific viewpoint, how is it to be acquired? Primarily, it is a quality which depends largely upon intelligence. Intelligence, according to Stern, is "the capacity of an individual consciously to adjust his thinking to new requirements: it is a general mental adaptability to new problems and conditions of life." The significance here for practical social work is obvious.

But we cannot rely upon intelligence without special training, based on a broad educational background. The training of professional social workers should be at least as well developed as the training of teachers. It can be made analagous in every way, including the general educational foundation, the special instruction, the practice work, the expert guidance, and the association with an experimental laboratory. Just as teachers are now given an opportunity, in the course of their training, to participate in the making or using of psychological and educational tests, the contact with the best methods of teaching, an experience in the actual handling of pupils, so may social workers, in the course of training, be given such opportunities. Training of this sort is carried on in a few places, but it is far from adequate in proportion to the need for social workers. Social work needs to be made a profession; a profession which contains in its ranks at least a substantial proportion of scientifically-minded members; with some persons perhaps, who, like Galileo, observing the swinging pendulum of human suffering and human needs may be encouraged, by careful study of related facts, to formulate the ideas which will go to improve the social mechanism, and thus mark the daily course of future human progress.

## HOUSING CONDITIONS IN CHINATOWN LOS ANGELES

By NORA STERRY

*Principal, Macy Street School*

Chinatown lies at the northeast corner of the business section of the city. Two blocks to the east is a gas plant, which alone would pollute the air with soot, but worse than this is a main railroad line and the railroad yards that encircle two sides of the community. From the trains constantly passing a heavy cloud of smoke always hangs over the neighborhood.

There are only two city streets in Chinatown; they are the only streets with any sort of paving. There are, however, thirteen thoroughfares which are commonly recognized as streets, both by the Chinese and by the postal authorities. Some of these so-called streets would be extremely hard for the uninitiated to find. At one end of China Alley entrance may be had from an inconspicuous gate and down a block-long lane, walled in on one side by a windowless brick building and on the other by a six-foot wooden fence, or direct from the Southern Pacific Yards by pushing open a hinged panel in this same fence, not to be distinguished at sight from other panels. At the other end it is necessary to approach through a narrow runway between the houses; this is not over three feet wide, is roofed over, and turns five corners in the course of a few feet.

Besides these thirteen streets, several of them only wide enough for pedestrians, there are at least twenty-two passage ways between the houses, most of them open to the sky, a few even being paved with stone, like the side walks

which border the main thoroughfares. They are used by the Chinese as commonly as are the streets. There are several houses so situated however that there is no entrance whatsoever to them except through the house of another or by climbing a fence.

One of the most striking points in viewing Chinatown is its bright color. The houses are for the most part of red brick, built flush with the street, two stories in height and offering a surface unbroken by any apparent division between properties. The windows are small and are usually barred or covered with solid wooden shutters. Here and there are wooden balconies ornamented profusely and painted in brilliant hues, yellow, red, and green. Occasionally are window boxes filled with bright flowers. On holidays variegated lanterns are hung on all the porches and doorways and gay pennants flutter thick in the air.

There is no yard in front of any house, excepting one. The doors open directly on the street. A few houses have a bit of unoccupied land in the rear, or in the center of the block, but these spaces are invariably used for chicken coops or rubbish dumps. Many of the buildings have flimsy wooden porches in the rear and wooden sheds, built in some instances of nothing more substantial than packing boxes. On such insecure additions are often located open brick fire places, which ensure a perpetual fire menace.

The worst housing problem of the city centers in Chinatown. The buildings were erected before there were housing ordinances and were patterned after houses in China, which are constructed with a view to warding off evil spirits rather than to ensuring physical comfort. It is commonly believed that evil spirits dislike darkness and cannot turn corners and a dwelling place, to achieve the old standard of China, must take this factor into consideration. Hence almost every house possesses certain inside rooms for sleeping quarters, rooms which have no other

light nor ventilation than that afforded through the narrow entrance from the unlighted hall. In a survey made by the State Commission of Immigration in 1916, of 1572 rooms visited 878 were found totally dark and windowless. These rooms are often hidden behind invisible doors. Most of the houses have a kind of mezzanine, or false story, to which access is gained by a ladder. There are also underground rooms, store rooms as a general thing but turned into living quarters on occasion, as when men are hiding during a tong war.

The ground plan of the houses varies only in a very few instances. It consists ordinarily of several rather narrow rooms in a straight line, connected by a narrow dark hall. There are windows in the front and the rear rooms only, even when the building is situated at the end of a block and the side rooms could be lighted with ease. There is no provision for heating these houses and only a few of them have either gas or electricity.

From a physical standpoint the homes are strikingly uncomfortable. The furniture is meager. Beds are usually raised platforms upon which as many huddle at night as can stay on. The houses are never artificially heated and in cold weather personal warmth is achieved by the addition of successive layers of clothing. There are but two meals a day, one in the morning and the other normally about four-thirty in the afternoon. These do not vary in character of food one from the other, nor indeed from day to day, the staples being rice, tea and vegetables, with chicken, pork and noodles as often as they can be afforded. The food is placed in a common dish in the middle of the table and each person helps himself therefrom with his individual chopsticks. A courteous host will pick out tit-bits from his own plate and transfer them to that of his guest.

The streets of Chinatown were laid out and the houses were constructed by the Chinese according to their old

world ideas. Directed by superstition and ignorance, the buildings are models of all that is undesirable. Our city housing and health regulations, while not wholly adequate, in general prohibit the existence of such conditions, but practically no effort is made at enforcement, presumably because the interests owning the district, which with its compact buildings is of high rental value, are unwilling to have their income interfered with and are too powerful to be opposed. And none of the property is owned by the Chinese.

The Chinese gambling institutions are seldom interfered with. Occasionally for some obscure reason one of these places is raided by the police but for the most part they are regarded as an inevitable concomitant of Chinese life and though they are illegal little effort is directed towards their regulation. On several occasions when the teachers of the Macy Street School have covered the district in taking the school census, the Chinese have voluntarily designated various illegal establishments with no apparent idea of any need for concealment. The smoking of opium is carried on only in private, probably because it is discouraged by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, but the scent of it hangs everywhere.

Community kitchens are common. Each lodging house has one for the convenience of its tenants. One typical lodging house has thirty-two rooms on one side and thirty-four on the other, alternate store and living rooms; upstairs all the rooms are occupied by lodgers. Another, about the same size, consists of a stable downstairs and living rooms above. There is but one kitchen for the use of all the people in both buildings. Kitchens are often situated in crowded sleeping rooms, the ovens being wedged between built-in bunks. Many kitchens have no outside ventilation or light.

The corrals offer a special menace to the city at large.

There is little attempt to regulate them in accordance with existing ordinances and filth abounds with resulting swarms of flies and other insects. The State Commission found seven privy vaults in such corrals, five of them being nothing but a hole in the ground with a board frame. Yet in these corrals hundreds of men sleep at night, as well as the horses, and every night there are wagonloads of vegetables which are to be peddled the next day about the city. Such vegetables are commonly freshened by soaking in the horse troughs.

There are one hundred eighty-four shops in Chinatown, most of them consisting of but one room with living quarters in the rear. There are four large warehouses in the district, a large garage, two small factories, and several wholesale houses which apparently transact much business. The majority of the establishments however are petty affairs with their sole traffic among the Chinese residents. A number of them serve as a cloak and entrance for gambling dens and brothels, though many such places do not trouble to disguise themselves at all.

That the Chinese live under deplorable physical conditions which render American social standards impossible of attainment, is apparently a matter of indifference to the average American, who is accustomed to think of them as a people permanently alien, having a negligible share in our community life because of inherent racial disabilities. Yet with few exceptions they are settled residents of Los Angeles with the probability of a life time here and with innumerable and inevitable contacts between themselves and all other classes of society.

Hundreds of them are engaged in the production and marketing of vegetables. A large number are domestic servants. Many work in stores, laundries, restaurants and hotels. The motion picture industry is beginning to employ Chinese of all ages. A few are doctors, teachers, and

artists. They are found in many ranks of employment and in all are industrious, reliable and thrifty. Moreover their productivity is not offset by the necessity of public aid to any of their members. Neither the County Charities nor any other outside organization is ever called upon by the Chinese for help. If their own organizations ever give financial assistance to their members it is done so unobtrusively that Americans do not know of it.

From the standpoint of health also they are obviously of importance to other social groups, inasmuch as they or the product of their hands go throughout the city and reach all classes of society. Disease engendered in such insanitary quarters does not remain a local menace but may be spread broadcast.

Politically, too, they are of consequence. In the Macy Street School district, usually about one-half of a precinct, out of 204 registered voters one hundred, including two women, are Chinese and many other Chinese living elsewhere in the city are also voters. Our laws do not permit the naturalization of Orientals but those who are born in this country and live here until twenty-one years of age and those children of native born Chinamen, whether themselves born here or in China, are all *ipso facto* full fledged American citizens. Although the total number of Chinese has steadily decreased since 1900, the number of Chinese citizens has increased, less through the native birth rate, which is small, than through the yearly immigration of Chinese-born sons of Chinamen who are Americans.

Needless to say, the Chinese who have lived under such conditions have come into contact with the very worst of American civilization. Perhaps it is fortunate that they have patterned themselves so little upon the Americans whom they have known best, but have remained in daily life and habits of thought peculiarly Chinese, a world away from us. The fact remains, however, that we have made hardly a start toward their assimilation.

## MOTION PICTURE SHOWS AND SCHOOL GIRLS

By ROSALIE B. FOWLER, A.M.

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The purpose of this study is to note some of the effects of one of the most common forms of entertainment—the motion picture show—on school girls. The data were obtained by personal interviews with the girls and observation of them; by consultation with their parents, teachers, attendance officers, and others who know and have dealt with them; and by observation of picture shows of the types most frequented by the girls. As a member of the Child Welfare Department of the Los Angeles schools for three years, the writer has secured first-hand materials.

The type of picture show which appeals most strongly to the adolescent girl is that which portrays love as a common, cheap thing. It makes love appear as the easiest thing in the world to attain and get rid of, and at the same time the most desirable thing in the world. The ridiculously made-up and over-dressed or under-dressed heroine shows the eager-eyed girl how she may capture the hearts of not one man, but many, by artificial wiles and pretty clothes. In this type of picture, the heroine is usually shown as a shallow, vain girl or as a married woman in whose domestic relations "complications have set in"; and the girl is impressed with the idea that she needs only to imitate the wiles of the professional flirt whose acting she has watched with absorbed interest, in order to attract to herself all that she considers most desirable in life. Moreover, she receives the impression that she has as much right to essay the conquest of a married man as of a single one. Has she not seen the beautiful girl on the



screen win the affection of another woman's husband? Let the wife hold her husband if she can. One such picture shows a simple country-girl bride in a village home which the average city dweller would consider luxurious. The critical observer is impressed with the incongruity of the handsomely furnished house and the rich attire of the young wife, for when her husband comes home from an office where he is paid a very modest salary, she meets him at the door clad in a dinner gown of lace and satin with a long train of rich lace. The whole scene is a portrayal of false economic standards; but the young girl is unable to see this point. When she sees such a picture she dreams of having just such gowns and furniture when she is the wife of the young mechanic or clerk whom she admires. As the story progresses the young couple move to the city, where the husband becomes wealthy and insists upon his wife living an idle life. She does so, becomes fat and lazy, and fills the house with all kinds of ridiculous symbols of "jazz." The husband, disgusted, turns to a girl who is a friend of his wife; spends his leisure time with her; and finally writes from his club, asking his wife to divorce him in order that he may marry this girl. At last, they are thrown together at a house party, the wife seizes an opportunity to show her husband the selfishness of the other woman, and he returns to seek her forgiveness. This picture, although not so pernicious as some, shows throughout false standards of living and warped ideals of life; its worst feature is the portrayal of marriage as a garment to be put off or on at the convenience of the contracting parties.

Worse than the type of picture mentioned above, is that which shamelessly panders to sex, and by its salacious suggestion arouses that which the growing girl neither understands nor knows how to control, and which renders her susceptible to the advances of the unscrupulous who would

work her downfall. Facts of life which should be known only in their sacred aspects, are garbled and surrounded by lewd suggestion, until the girl's standards are effectively warped; and instead of being subordinated to the other phases of her living, as it should be, sex looms larger than any other part of her consciousness. As a result she sees love, not as a holy thing worthy her highest development, but as a cheap thing to be gained by tawdry means. In a widely advertised film of this type, the scene of much of the story is laid in the palace of the sheik, and the picture shows enough of the life in the harem to invest successfully the whole play with sex-interest. The metamorphosis of a beautiful gypsy dancer from a wanderer in the desert to the position of favorite wife in the harem is vividly portrayed. Throughout the picture, sex-suggestion so insidiously permeates every scene that one is reminded of being in a room in which a heavy, rank perfume is so gradually diffused into the atmosphere as to be barely perceptible at first; but as the odor grows stronger one develops a dull headache, and scarcely realizes what caused it until he steps out into the pure air and notes the difference. The costumes, the strange foreign settings, and above all the scenes where, scantily clad, a woman who is famous for her physical beauty displays her charms in ensnaring first one man and then another; until several have been infatuated and then cast aside, as a new victim who caught her fancy, but never her heart, appeared on the scene—all these combine to make display that insinuates rank poison into the consciousness of the susceptible girl.

We all love adventure, if we be young enough, and the adolescent girl dotes on it. To her, life is just one thrill after another, and the picture which shows the hero or heroine in a series of hair-raising escapes from wild beasts, savage men, burning buildings and what not, holds her

spellbound. Let the story follow the daring feats of the wild rider on the western ranch, and she is filled with a desire to mount a mustang, ride after cattle, and share all the glories of the free life that she has seen depicted on the screen. It would be well if her longing could result in a taste of wholesome life in the open—to sleep out under the stars, to ride with the wind in her face, to learn to love the smell of wood smoke and sun-baked soil. Unfortunately, there is in her environment nothing to satisfy the longing that the picture has aroused, and far too often her pent-up feelings find an outlet in expressed dissatisfaction with her home, and disobedience to her parents, even to running away from home. As Alma, who had become absorbed in wild west pictures expressed it, "I wanted to go to Texas and live a wild life." She is the daughter of intelligent immigrants, who have become Americanized to a greater extent than is usual. Longing for the free life on the range as she saw it depicted in films, she was easily led away by an older girl who pretended they were getting ready to go to Texas, and told her that she could earn money for the trip by immoral means.

The fact that many young girls are allowed to attend picture shows alone or with other children constitutes a serious phase of this problem. If it is at night, the girl is in danger from the time she leaves home until she returns; for not even a grown woman is safe alone at night on the streets of the city. By day or night a girl is exposed by lack of proper chaperonage while in the show, for it is common in the neighborhood theaters for the boys and girls to gather in the dimly lighted portion of the house and indulge in familiarities that would not be tolerated in the better lighted theaters. Here a girl or a group of girls is often singled out for attention by rowdy boys and young men who take them home, or almost home, and out of such chance meetings grow clandestine meetings later.

Lois was a delightful girl of twelve years. Her widowed mother worked, and when night came she was too weary to accompany the child to the show or to provide diversion at home. Moreover, the neighborhood theater was less than a block away, and as she lived in a good section of the city, she thought surely it was safe to let Lois go to the early evening show alone or with another little girl. As a result, Lois met strangers at the show and was on two or three occasions brought home by a boy whose name she did not know but who, she said, seemed to be a nice, gentlemanly boy. She became careless and bold, and truant from school. The mother had noted signs of careless conduct, but did not know what to do about it, since she was compelled to be away from home so much of the time.

Lucy is a fourteen-year-old girl who turned to the world of make-believe on the screen and frequented the movies with other girls. By conduct which was the natural result of young girls being in a public place unchaperoned, they attracted the attention of older boys who talked to them in the show, followed them out, and insisted upon knowing where they lived. Out of these events grew automobile rides with one of the older boys whose name they did not learn, and it was but a short time until Lucy was truant from school and spending her time with the older girls with whom she attended the shows. This girl's attendance unchaperoned, at picture shows, was just one link in a long chain of contributory circumstances; but it was one of the most serious links, for it took her away from the home at night and afforded her a degree of freedom that she was unable to stand. This led to her truancy and to a final necessity for removing her from the home, and from the influence of the young people with whom she had been associating in the neighborhood.

In addition to the danger to which a girl is exposed on

the way to and from shows, the undesirable associations she forms at shows and the subsequent meetings which grow out of her meeting with strangers, a further menace is found in the lack of proper lighting in many of the theaters. Many of the neighborhood theaters and some of those down town are so poorly lighted, that mere children carry on the most ridiculous familiarities without the management or the ushers taking any notice of them. Thelma is a sweet, attractive girl of thirteen, who lives with her father and her younger brother in a poorly furnished, unattractive rear cottage. The children formed the habit of going to the neighborhood theater at night, and went during school hours to a theater down town, paying their way with money they were supposed to spend for lunch. Finding that she was able to attract attention, the girl fell into the habit of refusing to sit with her brother, and fancied that she was satisfying her craving for love by allowing the boys whom she met there to indulge in familiarities with her under cover of the dim light in the theater. It was a short step from absorption in the cheap romance of the screen to taking part in a spurious love intrigue; and her mind dwelt upon sex relationships until she was, if not actually immoral, in grave danger of becoming so.

Judith is a high school girl who has become obsessed by a desire to play in pictures of the rough-rider type; and has reached the stage where she so longs for pretty clothes and the freedom of life as she has seen it depicted on the screen, that she feels that there is "nothing to real work."

A similar case is that of Hazel, who lives with her parents, several older brothers and a younger brother in a fairly good neighborhood. She is a fiery-tempered girl of thirteen years, whose obsession is picture shows. Her people come from a town where shows were not so plentiful as here, and she hotly resents being deprived of the privilege

of going whenever she wishes to do so. She speaks of the film folk familiarly by their given names and gazes with adoration at their pictures on the billboards. Possessed of an overwhelming desire to substitute the fascinating world of make-believe for the detested school work in which she was failing because of refusing to apply herself to the task of mastering it, she left home each morning with money for her lunch, went down town and spent the day and her lunch money in the motion picture theaters, and returned home when school was out in the afternoon. An attendance officer found her in a theater on Main Street and she was taken to school where she remains only because she knows she has to.

The unnatural excitement to which a girl who attends many motion picture shows is subjected, tends to make school seem an uninteresting place and studying an irksome task, and so leads to loss of interest in school and truancy. After a girl has received a wrong conception of life and love, it is but a step to where she is beyond the control of her parents, and unless someone intervenes the next turn in the path will almost inevitably lead her into immorality.

Some of the outstanding unwholesome effects of shows of the types cited are: inculcation of wild ideas; a destructive conception of life, love, and work; loss of interest in school; loss of parental control; harmful companionships, truancy and immorality.

A majority of the girls who have been considered in this study are from homes that are not functioning normally, and their trouble is not in any sense entirely due to the influence of the shows they see. However, the unmistakable effects of their attendance at motion picture shows is suggestive of the influence that the same shows which they see, may be having upon the thousands of other children who see them but who do not chance to come under our observation.

The fact that children are so deeply impressed by what they see, renders the motion picture potentially one of the greatest factors in their education and development along right lines. The freedom with which mere children are allowed to attend shows which are entirely unsuited to their stage of development, and many of which are unfit to be presented even to adult audiences, is but one phase of the general laxity which is apparent today; but it renders the motion picture actually one of the most potent influences for the undoing of our young people.

The motion picture show is here to stay, and it should stay. It is so valuable a tool, that all whose business in life includes an attempt to contribute to the progress of society might well band together to bring about its use to that end. Colleges, schools, churches, clubs, in fact all kinds of organizations and institutions may co-operate with the better producers, who frankly say that they would prefer to make clean pictures if the public would receive them as well as they do the types which are so prevalent, by creating a widespread demand that managers of theaters present the kinds of pictures which are desirable for children to see. A plan which provides, at least in the neighborhood theaters, that certain nights are set aside for the presentation of pictures which are suitable for children; and a definite program of encouragement and substantial support of better pictures all along the line, may well go hand in hand with a much greater care in the homes with reference to where the young people are allowed to go and what they do and see. Add to this a general return to the old-fashioned practice of having the social life of the family center in the home, and a beginning will have been made in the solution of some of our most vexing problems.

# THE PRINCIPLE OF GROUP PRIORITY

By EMORY S. BOGARDUS  
*University of Southern California*

The concept of group priority arises out of a comparative study of the concrete facts regarding the individual and the group. At birth, the human infant is an inchoate mass of impulses, reflexes, and potential responses to simple stimuli. He is physically, psychically, and socially helpless, and without social aid could not survive more than a few days. His life is maintained only between narrow temperature limits, and only when nourished by the simplest of foods. Not being able to creep or walk, to talk, or to care for himself, he is a classic illustration of helplessness. As an individual organism, however, he is several months old at birth, and hence when considered as a pre-natal being, his helplessness reaches the lowest thinkable level.

By contradistinction, let us look at the ordinary group *milieu* into which he is brought at birth. There is his parental group with its established language, its developed beliefs, and iron clad rules of conduct, its religious traditions and convictions. These all-powerful parental forces are made up out of neighborhood, national, racial, and cultural heritages millenniums old. They are often permeated by titanic superstitions, and by interpretations of life that have been passed from generation to generation and possess all the force of the ages. Compare the hoary age and the tremendous power of these group forces with the weak naiveté of the new born babe.

Then, when we consider the inherited traits of the germ cells which united to create a new human organism, we



find them largely the products of group survival. Parents, grandparents, great grandparents, generation before generation, were reared in groups, lived only as unit members of groups, and were subject to the laws of group control and survival. An infant could have no hereditary equipment and hence no life, had there not been group priority for one, two, and many generations before his own life began.

Assuming that an infant could by some means or other succeed in living outside of groups, how far would he develop mentally, socially, and personally, under non-group conditions? Suppose that from birth he could live as it is alleged Caspar Hauser lived, namely, by himself, with food being left for him by someone whom he never saw and with whom he did not communicate in any way. What would this individual, growing up remote from group life, resemble at the age of twenty or forty years? What language would he speak? Would he have learned to cook food? In what kind of a house would he live? What kind of thoughts would he think, about what, for instance?

A partial answer to these questions is found in the studies of individuals reared in isolation. Of Caspar Hauser it is reported that when he was brought at the age of sixteen years into human company, he paid little heed to what went on about him and recognized no social customs, that he burned his hand in the first fire that he saw, that he had no fear of being struck with a sword, that the sound of a drum threw him into convulsive fear. He reacted to pictures and statuary as though they were alive, and was delighted by whistles and bright objects. Experts pronounced him idle, stupid, and vain, and autopsic examination revealed a small undeveloped but otherwise normal brain.

Through groups, languages, beliefs, inventions of all sorts, civilization has been transmitted from generation to

generation, and now and then added unto and expanded. Take away the medium of group transmission, and the infant of today would have to begin in a far more simple, cruder way than the Neanderthal man began. Without the priority that is represented in group transmission of civilization, the modern infant would be helpless before animal life of all forms, even those of insect levels. Without the power that group transmission of ideas represents to buoy him up on the strong wings of civilization, he, or even the most mature of us, would not have a chance of surviving long under the engulfing primitive conditions which would be operating.

The ability which the human organism possesses of responding to social stimuli is another evidence of group priority. The young child is built to respond to stimuli of all types that come from other human beings. As he grows older, he become frantic, insane, when deprived of all social stimuli. It was once thought that the principle of tooth and fang functions to the exclusion of other principles in the biological world. Darwin was one of the first thinkers to point out the omnipresent tendency of higher organisms to respond to social stimuli and thus to give credence to the principle that the group nature of man is as vital as the egoistic. The evidence has cumulated to the effect that animals which respond to group stimuli are at an advantage over those which rarely so react, and thus the laws of the survival of the fittest, when considered in their higher phases are the laws of the survival of the social. If out of these basic group origins, the human race has emerged, then the concept of group priority has been established.

If we may go further and view the human individual in his psychical aspects as a stimulus-response mechanism, we find that he is overwhelmingly attuned to catch social stimuli. He seems to be basically a social being who devel-

ops specially organized sets of habitual responses known as gregariousness, sex and parental reactions, and other social tendencies. It seems that it is only by apposition to a social consciousness that he becomes aware of a self, of a so-called individual self, a self-consciousness, and that it is chiefly by setting him apart from a group that he can be viewed as an individual at all.

He who proclaims himself self made, is naïvely taking a narrow and ego-centric view, and is neglecting the facts which may show that he is a mere pygmy, catching perhaps, a few material trifles on the vast, billowy waves of civilization. He is far more group made than self made, having been given the advantages of languages, literatures, inventions, cultures, that have taken ages to make and that have been preserved and transmitted through group continuity for his benefit. He is parental-group made, play-group made, school-group made, culture-group made, even more than self made. This realization need not discourage him, but after making him properly humble enough to reach his greatest social efficiency, it may and will stimulate him to be more of an integer and less of a cipher, more of an initiator and less of a parrot, "more of a voice and less of an echo," more of a spiritual and social benefactor and less of an arbitrary seeker of material and selfish power.

This discussion of the principle of group priority leads to the consideration of two other principles, which because of lack of space here will be analyzed at a later time: first, the principle of group domination, with all its crushing effects, whether taking the form of political autocracy, religious ecclesiasticism, or economic and social oppression; and second, the highly vital proposition referred to in the concluding words of the foregoing paragraph, namely, the principle of personal emergence, with all its emphasis upon initiative, genius, and leadership.

## Book Notes

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ITS CONTROL. By ROBERT E. PARK. Harper & Bros., 1922, pp. xx+488.

This volume presents a description of how the foreign-language press is actually functioning in the United States, rather than theories about how it should work. The materials have been drawn from a great variety of sources and throw a flood of light upon the inner life of the immigrants as they are endeavoring to make adjustments to a new cultural environment. Contrary to popular opinion Professor Park comes to the conclusion that the foreign-language press is a more valuable instrumentality in assimilating the immigrants than coercion.

The better way to Americanize the immigrant is to invite him to co-operate and use his own institutions, one of which is the press. In this process of participation he tends to become a loyal citizen. The immigrant uses the foreign-language press as a guide book to the New World and as such it becomes a gateway to new experiences. Although, editorially, some of these papers stand against assimilation, yet the very fact that they print American news and advertise American goods makes them an Americanizing influence in spite of themselves. In some papers English is gradually admitted into the columns in order to interest the younger generation, and in this way there is a process of gradual fusion and any abrupt disorganization is thereby avoided. The foreign-language press thus proves to be a valuable agency of social control. W. C. S.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By JOHN M. GILLETTE. Macmillan, 1922, pp. xii+571.

Every new book of merit on rural sociology is to be welcomed, for each may serve to stimulate urban populations to realize their indebtedness to rural people. Dr. Gillette has produced a new treatise on rural sociology that is greatly superior in content, scope, and principles to his first book on the subject published nine years ago, which was the pioneer among rural sociologies. He defines rural sociology as "that branch of sociology which systematically studies rural communities to discover their conditions and tendencies, and to formulate principles of progress." Among the strong points are the arguments for a resident rural leadership and for rural community building. E. S. B.

**EARLY CIVILIZATION: AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY.** By ALEXANDER A. GOLDENWEISER. Alfred A. Knopf, 1922, pp. xiv+428.

In Part I the author passes in review the civilization of five primitive groups in their historic wholeness as they appear in their own geographical settings. In Part II early civilization is separated into several constituent aspects—economic conditions and industry, art, religion and society. The closing chapters are devoted to a discussion of the theories of early mentality as held by several writers. The old position in regard to the relative inferiority of races is critically examined. According to the old position the races differ significantly in potential ability and the white race was the only one which could achieve and has achieved civilization. The author sets forth the position that the races do not differ significantly in psychological endowment and that there is a great variety of possible and actual civilizations, and that many civilizations other than ours have achieved things of genuine and unique worth. Many writers have stressed certain factors, to the exclusion of all others, in the development of a civilization, but this book presents several basic formative factors of all civilizations as: creativeness of the individual, which is responsible for the origin of cultural elements; psychological and sociological inertia, which produces cultural stability and institutionalism; and the historic relations between human groups, which bring stimuli for change and determine the dissemination and exchange of ideas and commodities. In the development of any civilization the rôle of borrowing is important and by this means a group, whether modern or primitive, may profit by the cultural opportunities of its neighbors.

W. C. S.

**JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.** By HENRY HERBERT GODDARD, Director Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research. Dodd, Mead & Co., 1921, pp. vii+120.

According to this book we are breeding defectives and making criminals. The courts handle thousands of juvenile delinquents every year, yet comparatively few are restored to useful citizenship. The author holds that juvenile delinquency can be prevented and a large part of adult criminality be eradicated. The book is based largely on the work done by the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research and, while it offers no cut and dried solution, it does show what one small group is doing to approach the problem in a scientific manner. The chapter on the psychopathic child is perhaps the most valuable contribution.

W. C. S.

THE MIND IN THE MAKING. By JAMES H. ROBINSON. Harper, 1921, pp. 235.

In broad, bold terms Dr. Robinson breaks with traditions and urges that youth be instructed that social institutions may be defective and that they seek and be able to give reasons for all the beliefs which they hold. His main thesis is the necessity of freeing intelligence from traditional thinking as such. He divides thinking into four types: reveries; making practical, everyday decisions; defending one's opinions and beliefs; and critical thinking. The author urges a change in our fundamental *mores*, so that instead of rating highest those who lose themselves in acquiring riches, we give highest acclaim to those who promote those objects for which it is worth while to acquire riches. Examining national welfare, he deplors the current "almost universal pre-occupation with business," and the degree to which business has come "to hold a position of exclusive predominance among human interests."

ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY. By BESSIE A. McCLEN-  
AHAN. Century, 1922, pp. xviii+260.

In this treatise which is full of practical and sound suggestions regarding the organization of communities, the emphasis is given to the rural community, which is defined as "a social unit composed of a population center, together with the farm families using it as their trading center, with definite territorial boundaries, with common laws, common interests, common privileges, and the latent capacity of being organized for co-operative action." Miss McClenahan refers to community organization work as the latest development of scientific social work. Her well-written analysis of the essentials of organizing rural communities will be invaluable to persons interested in community improvement, and presages a favorable reception of her forthcoming treatise on organizing urban communities.

JUSTIFIABLE INDIVIDUALISM. By FRANK W. BLACKMAR.  
Crowell, 1922, pp. 137.

The main themes of this sizeable monograph are (1) that there is a grave danger of social organization becoming so powerful and complex even in a democracy that it will crush individual initiative, and (2) that individualism is justifiable only when it "seeks the fullness of life in devotion to the common good." These propositions are treated with skillful effectiveness and supported by vigorous criticism of corporate selfishness, industrial selfishness, national selfishness, and educational selfishness.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By DAVID SNEDDEN. The Century Co., 1922, pp. xii+689.

Here, at last, we have a treatise on Educational Sociology, designed for teachers, which is likely to meet with full approval by both educator and sociologist. The author is to be congratulated for the splendid organization of the material involved, a task not easy, especially when one considers the many and varied attempts to define the limits of this particular field of sociology. Parts I and II are devoted to a presentation of the subject matter of sociology. Parts III and IV deal with the sociological foundations of education and of the school subjects. It is to these last two parts that Dr. Snedden has brought the full wealth of his powers of observation and experience as an educator and student of society. Keen analytical investigations and reports are made upon the general types of education and upon the curriculum subjects in order that their sociological foundations may be discovered. Many problems are thus created, these being put chiefly in the form of questions in the various chapters. The book becomes a true mental stimulant since the problems presented are generally in need of widespread discussion. Many of them are suggestive of years of intensive study and research. The solutions will serve to bring a clearer concept of the process known as "socialization of education" and will aid in defining the objectives of education.

M. J. V.

HUMAN NATURE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By JOHN DEWEY. Holt, 1922, pp. vii+336.

Professor Dewey has achieved a masterpiece in his analysis and delineation of the rôle of habit in social life. The emphasis upon habituation as the basic psychical process may be overdrawn at times, and it may lead the reader to underestimate other vital psychic processes such as stimulation and communication, but the theme has never been analyzed so thoroughly as in parts one and two of this book.

Habit is the organization of impulses which leads to the expression of instincts; it is fundamental to thinking; it is the essence of character. Distinctions are not clearly made by the author between the constructive and destructive results of different habits; and sufficient attention is not given to the stationary character of habits and to the necessity of making over habits as social conditions change. No student of social psychology however can afford to neglect the brilliant contribution which Dr. Dewey has made to the field.

E .S B.

SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. By S. A. QUEEN, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1922, pp. 327.

This volume is the first of the "Lippincott Sociological Series" to be published under the editorial direction of Professor E. C. Hayes. The author treats the subject of social work from an historical viewpoint, starting, however, with the present tendencies and working backward into past causes. Social work as "the art of adjusting personal relationships" is now passing through a transition period from mere unscientific philanthropy or uplift work to a future as a profession worthy of a place beside that of law and medicine. Developments along six lines are noted: (1) greater emphasis on preventative work rather than remedial; (2) better correlation among social agencies, with the community as the center of attention; (3) increasing governmental support and administration of all agencies; (4) better standards for measuring effective social work; (5) more scientific training for social workers; (6) the demonstration that future social work must depend on economic and social developments more than on the social work of the past.

A. F. C.

THE MEXICAN MIND. By WALLACE THOMPSON. Little, Brown, 1922, pp. xi+303.

Among the interesting themes which constitute the chapter headings are: Signposts of Custom, Playtime in Mexico, Mexican Culture, the Mexican Temperament, the Mexican Crowd. Innate conservatism, suspicion, apathy, love of adornment, jealousy, courtesy, fatalism, non-athletic nature, unimaginativeness—these are cited as leading characteristics of the Mexican mind. The treatment is popular with an occasional reference to principles but not to those characteristic of the social anthropologist.

THE COMING OF COAL. By ROBERT W. BRUERE. Association Press, 1922, pp. 123.

In clear concise language the author shows how coal has become a necessity in modern life, how the management of the coal industry has been bungled, and how ignorant the public actually is in regard to the basic facts about the coal industry. The book demonstrates the need of the fact-finding Coal Commission recently appointed by President Harding.



**PENOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES.** By LOUIS N. ROBINSON. The John Winston Co., 1921, pp. 344.

This volume is a concise statement of the methods employed, past and present, in the United States in dealing with persons who have been convicted of offenses against society. Typical uses made of jails, houses of correction, workhouses, state prisons and penitentiaries, reformatories for both juveniles and adults, probation or parole are all described and their merits evaluated. The treatise is more than a history; it is also a critique upon our attitudes and acts toward criminals. The study concludes with a statement of the five stages of development through which our treatment of convicted offenders seems to have evolved and an indication of the probable changes in the near future. The standpoint is educational and sociological and the presentation constructively critical of the technique of penal administration.

C. E. R.

**ESSENTIALS OF AMERICANIZATION.** By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1922, pp. 448. Third edition.

The fact that this book appears in the third edition in the third year after its original appearance is heartening evidence that Americanization as a scientific and democratizing procedure is losing none of its earlier momentum. The author contends that Americanization is a psycho-sociological process of building a superior type of democracy out of the constructive traits of both the native born and the foreign born in our country. This edition brings the earlier ones to date and is written on the basis of four sets of "Americanisms"; liberty and initiative, union and co-operation, democracy and justice, and education and service.

E. P.

**THE RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT.** By JEROME DAVIS. Macmillan, 1922, pp. xv+219.

This book contains an understanding and sympathetic treatment of Russian immigrants in the United States by a scholar who has spent two and one-half years in Russia, who has a knowledge of the Russian language and who has made a personal investigation of Russian groups in our country. He discusses the home life, the environing economic factors, and the religious, educational, and political status of the Russian immigrants. One of his conclusions is that our treatment of the Russian immigrants is "sociologically unsanitary." He urges the development of more like-mindedness between them and us.

## Literature Notes

*Sections and Nations.* The United States is in reality a federation of section-groups rather than of state-groups. The regional bank reserve system gives a sectional organization to credit; our literature is a choral song of many sections. F. J. Turner, *Yale Rev.*, Oct., 1922, 1-21.

*Our New Racial Drama.* Three quarters of a million of Appalachian mountaineers have come down to the Piedmont Plateau, where they are living in industrial cities working with their hands in the cotton mills. H. F. Sherwood, *North Amer. Rev.*, Oct., 1922, 489-496.

*Science and Sanctity.* By applying to human societies well-tried methods of observation and interpretation, sociology is gradually unveiling a sublime unity in place of a multitude of more or less disconnected sciences and interests. Victor Branford, *Sociological Rev.*, July, 1922, 165-193.

*Ages of Leisure.* There are three important ages of leisure; (1) the leisure represented by long infancy and youth; (2) the leisure system built upon slave labor; and (3) the leisure which has been coming to man through the introduction of automatic machinery. Alfred H. Lloyd, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, Sept. 1922, 160-178.

*Are Inventions Inevitable?* Although the fact that many times an invention is produced by several minds in different parts of the world at about the same time shows that exceptional mental ability is more distributed than we might think, the more important conclusion is that the status of culture is the large determining factor in bringing about inventions. W. F. Ogburn and D. Thomas, *Pol. Science Quarterly*, March, 1922, 83-98.

*The Functions of Law and Law Enforcement in Combating Venereal Diseases.* Law is the foundation of all public health effort. Statistics from the army show that a decrease of 77 per cent in venereal diseases was due to the enforcement of social hygiene laws. It is possible to have the same decrease among civilians by an impartial enforcement of similar laws in all the states. Bascom Johnson, *Jour. of Social Hygiene*, April, 1922, 163-173.

*Personality in the Mental Defective, with a Method for its Evaluation.* A brief guide for grading mental defectives, as a working basis for constructive effort in the treatment of such cases is offered here. H. W. Patter, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1922, 487-498.

*What Has Become of Social Reform?* The social reformer is chiefly a conservationist, a trustee for human gains in material and spiritual standards, one who is willing to destroy if by so doing he may build better, and to reinvest the gains of civilization in socially productive ways. Bruno Lasker, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, Sept., 1922, 129-159.

*How Is a Science of Social Psychology Possible?* To be a science social psychology must become the study of responses to institutional stimuli, and the origin and development of such stimuli must be investigated as the operation of mutual interchange in social responses and their correlative stimuli. J. R. Kantor, *Jour. of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, April, 1922, 62-78.

*Some Responsibilities of the Public Schools in Developing Social Attitudes.* There is a need for the development of incentives in students to work up to their full capacities. An accumulative personality record would greatly aid vocational and educational guidance, so that each pupil may be guided toward the place in life where his capacity is sufficient but not wasted and where his special training will be conducive to the maximum of social and individual efficiency. W. H. Hughes, *Jour. of Delinquency*, July, 1922, 157-165.

*The Progress of American Penology as Exemplified by the Experience of the State of Pennsylvania, 1830-1920.* The leading penological concepts that have developed in this ninety years of history are: (1) the indeterminate sentence; (2) commutation of sentence for good behavior; (3) classification of prisoners on basis of personal case histories; (4) differentiation of the defective from the delinquent; (5) psychological observation and analysis of delinquents; (6) sterilization or segregation of habitual criminals; (7) education of convicts; and (8) prevention such as probation. H. E. Barnes, *Jour. of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Aug., 1922, 170-228.

## Round Table Notes

In the most different of us there is more that is common to all than is peculiar to any. H. A. Miller, *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIV: 140.

Our nature forbids us to make a definite choice between the machine gun and the Red Cross nurse. So we use the one to keep the other busy. Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*, p. 108.

Industrialized communities neglect the very objects for which it is worth while to acquire riches in their feverish pre-occupation with the means by which riches can be acquired. Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*, p. 177.

The great problem now is to protect China from foreign aggression while she is working out, under the leadership of her students, her new democracy. Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey*, p. 90.

For ages there was consumption before there was any production, and without grasping that fact man's economic and social history is not to be understood. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, p. 28.

To "make others happy" except through liberating their powers and engaging them in activities that enlarge the meaning of life is to harm them and to indulge ourselves under cover of exercising a special virtue. Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 292.

Automobiles are much more important today than horses. Men go into debt and struggle for money to buy gasoline so that they may drive somewhere for the sake of coming back. The automobile has created a psychology all its own, a psychology of movement, of impatience, of waste, of futility. Darrow, *Crime*, p. 209.

The man in control of the shoe factory is doing a great public service when he co-operates with labor to make good shoes for the public, but has he done his full duty as a director of social production unless he makes better men and women of those in his employ? Blackmar, *Justifiable Individualism*, p. 46.

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

WHAT WOULD YOU like to find in the *Journal* to which space is not now given? Keeping in mind our limitations in space and finances, will you write us at your early convenience any suggestions that occur to you?

THE PRESENT issue of the *Journal* has been increased to sixty-four pages—an increase made possible through a gift which is greatly appreciated. This issue is thirty-three per cent larger than our last one, and one hundred per cent larger than the issue of October, 1921. New subscriptions, renewals, and gifts have made possible this expansion, and other subscriptions and gifts will increase still further the usefulness of the *Journal*.

THE LIST of persons who wish to encourage the cause of socialized thinking by becoming contributing subscribers to the *Journal of Applied Sociology* and paying five or ten dollars per year instead of the regular subscription rate is slowly but encouragingly increasing.

TO THE MANY Pacific Coast friends of Professor Charles A. Ellwood it may be announced that he is planning to spend the coming summer on the Coast and that he will conduct two courses in sociology at the University of Southern California, beginning July 2 and continuing six weeks.

A SPECIAL survey discloses the fact that many of our readers prefer articles of about eighteen hundred to two thousand words in length; they desire that the articles omit introductory material as far as possible, and that the author plunge at once into a presentation of the main point or points which are offered.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION of Southern California has gone on record as favoring the requirement of three years of social science studies in the high school curriculum. At a recent meeting the chief proposal was to introduce three years of social science in the Junior high school also; it was suggested that in the seventh grade Social Science I be given and devoted to peoples in relation to geographic factors, that in the eighth grade Social Science II be offered and deal with peoples in relation to the development of social institutions, and that in the ninth grade Social Science III be listed and treat of peoples in relation to social movements.

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT nationalistic movements to attract considerable attention outside its own nation is that represented by the Fascisti (fa-she-sti) of Italy. The name comes from a verb which means "to make it tangible," and the movement has as one of its aims that of making nationalism tangible and strong. The Fascisti are organized about a leader, Mussolini, who has been described as a man who dominates "by the sheer force of his volcanic personality." The Fascisti are not only ultra-nationalistic but imperialistic and believe strongly in the use of arms and in force. They seem to be the enemy of constitutional democracy and represent a backward tendency that many leading nations have felt as a result of a post-war national psychology, and that has hindered the coming of a world social conscience.

## THE MATRIMONIAL BAROMETER IN TIMES OF WAR AND PEACE

By GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

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THE TWO primal cravings which have urged the human animal to climb are love and hunger; and the stronger of these springs to action is hunger. The individual must eat whether he wins a mate or not. The pangs of hunger and cold are more imperative than the sex-appetite. The bread-and-butter question is the original problem of social evolution. It existed before the man-animal crossed the zoological line and with free hands stood erect. Hunger is the tap-root of social institutions. It is the basic human craving; and it produced the basic human institution: the family. It required a stimulus more constant, more enduring, than the pairing impulse to discipline and organize the physical and spiritual interests centering in the trinity of personalities, the mother, father, and child. In the origin of social institutions the erotic craving, however important, was a far less cogent genetic force than the economic necessity of a food supply. The sexual instinct, declares Starcke, is "devoid of the conditions which form the basis of the leading tendencies in which man's struggle for existence must be fought out." Hence the primitive marriage does not rest upon the tender sentiment which we call love, but has its "origin in the most concrete and prosaic requirements." The "common household in which each had a given work to do, and the common interest of obtaining and rearing children were the foundations upon which marriage was originally built." Hence, according to the famous epigram of Westermarck, "marriage is

rooted in family, rather than family in marriage." The family comes first as a product of natural selection in the dire economic struggle for existence, the battle for race-preservation; marriage comes later as a social product. For wedlock, whatever its type, is a legalized, a socially sanctioned mode of sexual and domestic union. Its forms vary according to the diverse conditions of human life.

#### AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY TYPES

Among these conditions, the most constant and the most potent is the cost of living. Throughout history, directly or indirectly, the cost of food, measured in terms of human toil, has powerfully influenced matrimonial institutions. Everywhere, particularly during the early stages of progress, the changing types of the family, the successive forms of marriage, the rival systems of kinship, and the relative status of man and woman in the household or in the wider society are determined chiefly by economic factors.

It would be a grave mistake to assume that matrimonial institutions in America and in Europe are no longer powerfully influenced by economic conditions. I do not refer to the "marriage of convenience;" to marriage as a woman's economic "profession;" nor to modern "husband-purchase" or "wife-purchase" at the international bargain counter. Moreover, it is not my present purpose to discuss race-suicide or "birth-control;" although it is well understood that economy of material goods is the principal cause of the conscious or the unconscious limitation of the size of the family. Put bluntly, it is usually a choice between more babies and a higher economic standard of living. I refer to economic influences more constant, more pervasive, but less generally perceived. How does the cost of living affect the marriage rate?



## THE MARRIAGE BAROMETER

It has long been observed that in Europe the marriage rate—that is the number of persons marrying annually in each thousand of the population—falls in hard times and rises again on the return of prosperity. So impressed with this fact was the statistician, Dr. Wallace Farr, that he called the marriage rate the “barometer of prosperity,” which registers economic conditions “little less distinctly than the funds measure the hopes and fears of the money market.” According to all “experience,” declares John Stuart Mill, “a great increase invariably takes place in the number of marriages in seasons of cheap food and full employment.” Various other European writers have observed a general variation in the marriage rate corresponding inversely with the rise or fall in the cost of the necessities of life. In particular, war-times are usually hard-times; and in the past they have had a powerful influence in hindering marriages, while on the restoration of peace the loss has been largely or wholly recovered. Thus in 1864, “Denmark was at war with Prussia, and its marriage rate fell from 15.0 to 11.13” for each thousand inhabitants, “the lowest point it has ever yet reached, but in the next year, the war being over, rose to 17.8, and was higher than it has ever been again.” In 1866, “Austria was at war with Prussia, and, while the Prussian rate fell from 18.2 to 15.6, the Austrian rate fell from 15.5 to 13.0, but on the cessation of hostilities rose in 1867 to 19.3, a higher level than in any earlier year.”

## THE DIVORCE BAROMETER

Matrimony behaves in the same way in the United States. In Massachusetts for the period 1850 to 1890—Dr. Walter F. Willcox has shown—the marriage rate was low

in years of industrial depression and during the Civil War. Furthermore, the same statistician has proved that the average divorce rate for the whole country is affected in the same way, sinking in hard times and rising again on the restoration of business. Represented graphically, the curve for the Massachusetts marriages and the curve for the United States divorces (1867-1886), with slight exceptions, uniformly ascend and descend together, reaching their lowest and highest points in the same years. In our country the high cost of living has a tendency to check divorce as well as marriage. People are loth to face the hazards of changing marital relations in periods of economic stress. In case of divorce, grave questions of alimony, division of property, care of children, and change of vocation may arise. On the other hand, in England, at first glance, the divorce rate has hitherto seemed to disobey the economic law of variation; for in that land, while the marriage rate has fallen, the divorce rate has risen in hard times. But the apparent anomaly serves only to accent the close connection of the unmaking as well as the making of marriages with the bread-and-butter question. For, notoriously, in England during three centuries divorce has been practically a luxury for the exclusive consumption of the rich, for whom industrial depressions have served but to hasten rather than to retard the crisis in their wedded life. Here an interesting question arises: will the recent statute, much reducing the cost of divorce procedure—a statute passed under the influence of the liberal majority report of the Royal Commission in 1912—cause the British divorce rate to act properly according to the American rule?

The great report of the Director of the Census on Marriage and Divorce for the two decades 1887-1906 reveals the marriage barometer still steadily registering the influence of the cost of living on matrimony. Each panic or

commercial depression causes a fall in the marriage rate as well as in the rate of divorce. To take a single example, the panic of 1892 was followed by two years of depression in the marriage market; whereas in the third year (1895) there was an exceptionally large increase, which not improbably, represented the accumulation of marriages temporarily postponed." But the social loss due to hard times seems never wholly to be made up on the return of economic prosperity. The permanent loss for the three years ending in 1895 produced a deficit of 36,000 weddings. If six years be taken, the size of the deficit is tragic, considering its possible menace to human welfare. "If the average annual increase in marriages during the five years ending with 1892"—runs the Director's report—"had continued for the next six years, the aggregate number of marriages contracted during the latter period would have been 3,865,380, whereas, in fact, it was only 3,605,567—a deficiency of 259,813."

#### A MATRIMONIAL SPEEDOMETER

If the rate of marriage prevailing in a population is the barometer of prosperity, what economic factor may be taken as a convenient and sufficiently trustworthy index of prosperity—of good or bad times? Will the price of bread serve the purpose? Is it a trustworthy speedometer? It has been accepted as an adequate gauge by various economists. The middle and upper classes, says Fawcett, "do not often marry unless they have a reasonable prospect of being able to bring up a family in a state of social comfort; but the laborers, who form the majority of the population, are but slightly influenced by such cautious foresight. Even a trifling temporary improvement in their material prosperity acts as a powerful impulse to induce them to marry; for it is a demonstrated statistical fact that the

number of marriages invariably increases with the price of bread." Bodio, Bertillon, and Cauderlier reach similar conclusions. According to Farr, high prices of wheat depress marriages among the laborers more than among the well-to-do and the rich. Ogle on the contrary, while agreeing entirely with these writers as to the favoring influence of prosperity and the depressing effect of hard times on the number of marriages, finds in England, since 1820, so far as the price of bread alone is concerned, that the reverse is true, more marriages there taking place among the laboring class when bread is dear. Since about 1870, he insists, the general marriage rate has varied, not inversely, but directly with the price of wheat; the higher the price the more weddings. So he urges that in England the higher cost of bread may itself be an incident of increased industrial activity. This he finds to be the case; for the British "marriage rate rises and falls with the amount of industrial employment, which in its turn is determined by the briskness of trade, as measured by the value of exports, which also rise and fall concomitantly, and produce by their effect upon freights a simultaneous rise and fall in the price of wheat." In other words, wages and the amount of employment, as well as prices, are essential factors of any safe index of the cost of living.

#### HAS THE WORLD WAR UPSET THE MATRIMONIAL BAROMETER?

The European war is giving a surprising proof of this fact, at least for Great Britain. Before the war it was impossible to realize nature's ideal, if that ideal means the possible mating of each woman with some man; for the social balance sheet of the British Isles (1911) shows the huge deficit of 1,337,208 males. The conflict has greatly decreased the number of men available for wedlock. If

in the past, wars, as the hardest of hard times, have lowered the marriage rate, what influence ought we to expect the most destructive conflict in the world's history to have? Surely a severe check must have been given to marrying and giving in marriage?

Quite the contrary, was the case in Great Britain. The registration report for the quarter ending June 30, 1916, shows that during the three months 112,662 persons were married, being equal to a rate of 12.6 per thousand: a gain of 1.4 as compared with the average for the preceding decade. This increase is all the more surprising in view of the fact that the birth-rate (26.0) for the same quarter shows a shrinkage of 2.1 per thousand as compared with the average for the preceding decade, and is the lowest birth-rate recorded since the establishment of civil registration. Similar conditions seem to have prevailed during the war period.

What was the cause of this remarkable result? Did the marriage barometer cease to work? Or is it possible that economically the war-times were good times in the British Isles? Did full employment and higher wages backed by "war brides" patriotism, more than offset in the marriage market the check of high prices?

Such seems really to have been the case. It is held by thoughtful observers that the war-brides sentiment was speeding up the marriage rate. "It is all to the good," exclaims Ethel Colquhoun, that "prudence and calculation have been flung for once to the winds and young hearts have come together under the shadow of war. Nature has had her way with many young folks in the last few months, and when we think how she has been starved and pinched and poked into the strait-jacket of worldliness in the last half-century, since love-in-a-cottage went out of fashion, it is good to think that she has come into her own again."

Be that as it may, there is reason to believe that the new

labor conditions, due to the war, had much more to do with the rising marriage rate than had the release of young hearts from the restraints of prudence and calculation under the impulse of military sentiment. It is well known that in the towns of both England and New England, when there is full employment for working women at fair wages, the rate of marriage is exceptionally high. Now one of the surprising results of the war was to raise the material standard of living for working women, both single and married. Take the case of a wife whose husband is in the trenches. "A man," remarks the writer just quoted, "earning 1 £ per week, reservist, is called to the colours. His wife gets 16 s., plus his allotment of pay, 3 s. 6 d., plus 10 s. and food which his employer gives her for partially taking her husband's place. Total 29 s. 6 d., and no food to find."

The wage-earning girl, too, was helped and put in the way of contributing her share to the new household should she wed. "With clothing and munition factory, agricultural work and domestic service all competing for unskilled labor, while family incomes are unusually regular and the principal consumer is absent, there is no doubt that the working-class woman is in a very strong position."

The women of the professional and other well-to-do middle classes were not being affected in the same way. It is in those classes that bachelorhood and the one- or two-child family are usually found. A high standard of living is preferred to matrimony or to many children. Possibly this fact may partially explain why the birth-rate is falling in England, while the marriage rate is rising. "The passing of the child," declares another English woman, is the result of prosperity.

Decidedly in the United States during the war the price of wheat or that of other necessities could not be taken as the index of the cost of living. We were enjoying "good

times" in spite of high prices, because wages were rising and unemployment had nearly vanished. In recent decades, our marriage rate has been slowly rising, and it has stood nearly at the head of the list for the nations of the world. While the exact figures are not now available, is it not safe to assume that a full report would show that the marriage rate increased during the war times?

#### HAS THE WAR AFTERMATH UPSET THE MATRIMONIAL BAROMETER?

Judging the present by the past one would expect a sharp rise in the marriage and divorce rates since the war; for the end of a war has usually meant the close of hard times and the return of prosperity. Does the economic matrimonial barometer continue to work? In the lack of adequate statistics and in view of certain anomalous social conditions, one can venture little more than a statement of the visible factors in the problem.

In the outset, it is clear that if ameliorating economic conditions during the war sustained a surprisingly high marriage rate; while the industrial depression since the war tends to keep down the normal after-war rate, one can scarcely expect a sudden rise in matrimony; even allowing for the apparently unusual increase in the relative number of frivolous, immature, and other bad marriages; and considering that many deferred marriages have taken place on the return of the soldiers. Then, too, it must not be forgotten that during the war-period the unprecedented encouragement of "patriotic" unions—of the war-brides fanaticism—tended to hold the marriage rate above the normal war-time level.

Then, how are the women to find husbands? Before the war in Belgium, Hungary, Austria, France, Germany, and the British Isles, the aggregate surplus of females over

males was 3,589,995; not to mention European Russia where it has been estimated, there were 1029 females to 1000 males. The conflict has probably greatly augmented the deficit of males fit for right wedlock; while many of the war-brides are now war-widows in need of new mates.

Very different is the behavior of the divorce barometer. It is recording more than the normal acceleration of the divorce movement in a post-war period. As I have elsewhere written,<sup>1</sup> "patriotism is a worthy emotion; but it is not usually the right emotion on which to base happy and lasting wedlock. The 'war-brides' craze which everywhere in the warring lands was so recklessly encouraged, is now yielding its evil fruit. These hasty weddings are now ending in quick divorce." Thousands of petitions have been on the waiting list in the English courts, the offenders in most cases being fickle war-brides. Is there any state in America which has not a similar record of broken vows?

The war-aftermath, then, has not upset the matrimonial barometer; but its record, in times of war or peace, must be interpreted in the light of social conditions which retard or accelerate the action of the predominant economic forces.

<sup>1</sup>See my article "Bad Marriage and Quick Divorce," in *Journal of Applied Sociology*, December, 1921, p. 5.



## THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL ORDER<sup>1</sup>

By G. BROMLEY OXNAM

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THE CHURCH is facing a new world, even as it did following the Renaissance. It is not quite at home as yet in its new environment. Old formulae and successful methods of yesterday are neither appealing nor working. Large numbers ignore it as an institution or attack it as a parasitic growth upon the social life. Many of its former friends have left it since the War. Ramsay MacDonald, the scholar-statesman now leading the British Labor Party in Parliament, declared in the writer's presence "I have stood all my life against the secular view in politics, whether it crops up in the materialistic conception of history or elsewhere. I have worked almost as hard in the organized brotherhoods, in all phases of Christian activity, I think, as I have in the Labor movement. I am out of it altogether now. I think that organized Christianity has so forfeited the confidence of men of sincerity and deep conviction that the spiritually alone becomes the arena. I work on my own private lines. I have no confidence that if I help to restore organized Christianity to the position it held before the war, I have no guarantee, that I am doing anything except to help the organization in the re-crucifying of Christ. Christianity is stronger in the Labor movement than ever before. Organized Christianity was never more under suspicion." Even though remarkable gains have been made in church membership of late, the situation is most critical as is evidenced by the numbers affiliated with churches in Los Angeles. The city has an approximate population of

<sup>1</sup>Address before Southern California Sociological Society, December, 1922.

700,000. The combined Protestant, Catholic and Sunday School memberships not excluding duplicates in the church and Sunday School membership is less than 200,000. In a word, Los Angeles known as a church going city finds half a million people not directly affiliated with any church at all. This statement does not consider the more important question of attendance and active service.

I do not believe, however, that the Church is to be scrapped. Loose statements to this effect ignore the institutional strength of the church with its colleges, universities, hospitals, social settlements, publishing interests, press and property investments, and in addition leave out the vital fact that man is "incurably religious" and that religion inevitably organizes itself for propagation and maintenance. I am of the opinion that the changes now evident within the Church will so transform it as to send it forth in the very vanguard of the marching hosts pressing forward to the new society, or as the churchman puts it, the Kingdom of God. However, during the transition period there is no doubt but that serious questions are arising in the minds of both friend and foe of the church relative to its future. Many preachers and churchmen find themselves in the sorry position of the old agnostic who believed in neither heaven nor hell. This ancient worthy died, and a friend after witnessing the preparation for burial was heard to remark, "Well, he's all dressed up and nowhere to go." There is an attitude of marking time evident in church circles, but I believe it is but the marking of time necessary to insure a united first step for the advance of tomorrow. The following impressions will bear out this contention.

First, there has come over the church, at least among its thinking leaders, a realization of the fact that the church has not been able as yet to answer practically the vital question, How to live together. We do not know how to

live together internationally, industrially nor racially. The fact of war with its underlying causes of selfish nationalism, economic imperialism, and militarism; the present chaotic international situation with its numerous points of friction; and the apparent unwillingness of the nations to work for some form of world organization which subordinates national good to world good, is evidence enough to support the fact that we do not know how to live together internationally. The church is seeing that men do not know how to live together industrially. Strife in the work life of man is present in nearly every land. Strike upon strike, revolution and political upheaval are the lot of many an industrial nation. Racially, ominous clouds are upon the horizon. The tragic story of American lynchings, the crisis in India, and the growing self-consciousness of "inferior peoples" reveal perhaps the most serious problem of tomorrow and in turn evidence the fact that we do not know how to live together racially. Jesus, of course, possessed a world mind, a world heart, a world will. He thought of men as brothers in one great family loved by a common Father. The Church has come to see the contradiction between its Founder's thought and contemporary life. Its best students are devoting themselves to sincere study of this crucial problem, and a movement of significance is under way seeking the answer to the question, How to live together.

Second, while the church is slowly coming to see that the Kingdom of God cannot be built upon foundations of economic injustice, nor organized around the present acquisitive principle well nigh regnant in society, it has just as truly come to see that a mechanical plan for social emancipation based upon a philosophy of materialism cannot succeed. It feels that such schemes leave out the question of motive and the problem of cohesion, that they lack the dynamic force so essential both to progress and

to unity. Bessie Beatty, after her careful study and intimate contact with the entire Russian situation said, "I have returned from Russia feeling that after the best has been said, the Marxian analysis has left out a vital factor. I don't know what it is, but I think it is what you preachers have in mind when you speak of spiritual forces." Job Harriman, well known Socialist leader and thinker, after a lifetime of intellectual acceptance of the philosophy of economic determinism told the writer he had come to see that this factor while of undeniable importance and power, nevertheless was subordinate to the question of motive. This is the fundamental contention of Walter Rathenau's brilliant book "The New Society." Now the church has believed from the beginning that it possesses a force capable of rightly motivating men, and likewise uniting society, namely, the power of love. It is recognizing that it has not fired society with that force, nor has it won sufficient individuals to the life of love. A movement is discernible here also. Witness the books, the sermons, the conferences, seeking to ascertain how the power of love can be put at the center of social life.

Third, the Church believing that it possesses the moral dynamic essential to the new order finds itself face to face with the fact that it does not possess scientific information relative to society. In this connection it should be remembered that sociology is a youthful science, and that the first chair of "social service" was set up in American theological schools but a few years since. Furthermore it has been but of late that church scholars have adopted the scientific attitude of mind. For centuries they followed a deductive scheme of reasoning in their theology and biblical study. More recently has come the contribution of science, the changing attitude of the theologian relative to reasoning, the contribution of the pioneers in the field of biblical criticism. So recent has been this change, and so

new in fact the real investigation of society, that the church finds itself facing a social order that it does not understand scientifically. There is a growing feeling that the Church must have a thorough-going knowledge of our social life, so that it may intelligently bring to bear upon that life the transforming force of religion. The recent conference in Evanston where three hundred of the leading representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church assembled under the auspices of the Methodist Federation for Social Service had as its primary goal the spread of our present knowledge of society and the formulation of plans for its further study, and is paralleled by similar movements in other Protestant denominations and also in the Catholic church. It is here that a solemn duty is placed upon the student of sociology. Possessing information relative to the social life, trained under authorities in the field, the student has put upon him the duty and privilege of passing that knowledge to the preacher and the churchman, in a word, to give to the church the information it so sorely needs and seeks.

Fourth, seeking to learn how to live together, refusing a mechanical answer to the social question, developing a scientific attitude of mind, the Church is about to develop an informed preaching or prophetic order that will popularize the work of the sociologist and fire it with the dynamic of religion. This group will be a group of power, bent on carrying the spirit of Jesus into the problems of the hour through an appeal to the conscience of men. It will be a group possessing the martyr spirit ballasted with sense, unwilling to give its life for a non-essential but glad to give all if by so doing the Kingdom may come. It will be a group speaking for God, fearless, not seeking to save its life, but willing to share in Calvary everything that the world may be redeemed: at once a group winning the respect of the scholar since it is informed, and appealing to

the hearts of men, since its message is one of love. It will proclaim a message of salvation from sin in its truest sense, picturing a Kingdom of God here and now in which live men who seek a higher individualism based upon love and mutual service.

These are but observations. They come to those who associate closely with church leaders and laymen. Significant movements are quietly gaining headway. Tomorrow! No one can predict, but it would appear reasonable to hope that with a church bent upon teaching men how to live together, firing society with the transforming power of love, intellectually accepting the scientific attitude of mind, preaching a gospel of individual and social redemption, the church may well become a refuge and a fortress—bringing the weary individual the solace of knowing closely the heart of his great Father, and sending forth the group to build a new society.



THE RETURN of the Turk to Europe would seem to militate against world peace and progress. At the end of the World War four conditions had been agreed upon relative to the Graeco-Turkish situation, namely: (1) "The permanent retirement of the Turk from Europe, (2) the securing to the Armenians of an assured homeland, (3) the internationalization of Constantinople, and (4) a measure of order which would have prevented the total mismanagement of Greek affairs." All these gains appear now to be lost. The return to pre-World War conditions has been brought about by Greek nationalistic aims, the support of these aims by Great Britain which was caused by the nationalistic designs of Great Britain in Asia Minor, the jealousy by France of Great Britain and the consequent support of Turkey by France, which enabled Turkey "to come back" with an unanticipated vim and to regain much of her status in 1914. A world-conscience program on the part of the democratic and Christian countries of the world would have prevented this debacle and will prove essential to a just disentanglement of the political skein in Asia Minor, Greece, and in the Balkans.

# A STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

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IN ORDER to understand the actual problems which present themselves in the Honolulu Juvenile Court the writer made a first hand study of one hundred consecutive cases which came before the Court during a period of four months from October 1st, 1920, together with the manner of handling them. A special study of general Juvenile Court administration had already been made, and presented in a separate report.

The Juvenile problem in Hawaii is, of course, somewhat different from that of the mainland, not only because of climatic and geographical differences, but more particularly because of the great diversity and mixture of races. With such a diversity of races it is evident that many problems must naturally present themselves. When one considers that we are here dealing with diverse home conditions, with very different religious faiths, with the manners and customs of unlike peoples, and originating from countries as far apart as those of Scandinavia, Germany, Spain, the Azores, Porto Rica, on the east, and those of Hawaii, the Philippines, Japan, China, Korea, and Russia on the west, it is clear that the Juvenile problem in Hawaii presents an unusual background.

## AN ANALYSIS OF 100 JUVENILE COURT CASES

These one hundred Juvenile Court cases were taken for study as they occurred in Court from October 1, 1920, to

January 1, 1921.<sup>1</sup> Sixty-eight of these were boys and thirty-two were girls. The following table shows the races and racial mixtures, and the number of each represented:

|                          |    |                             |    |
|--------------------------|----|-----------------------------|----|
| American                 | 1  | Hawaiian and doubtful       | 1  |
| Hawaiian                 | 26 | Portuguese                  | 14 |
| Hawaiian-White           | 18 | Portuguese-Spanish          | 1  |
| Hawaiian-Porto Rican     | 1  | Portuguese-American-Mexican | 1  |
| Hawaiian-Indian-American | 1  | Porto Rican                 | 6  |
| Hawaiian-Negro           | 1  | Porto-Rican-Chinese         | 2  |
| Hawaiian-Chinese         | 2  | Chinese                     | 9  |
| Hawaiian-White-Chinese   | 3  | Japanese                    | 8  |

Fifty-three per cent of the cases are Hawaiian or Hawaiian mixtures: seventeen per cent are Asiatics: fourteen per cent are Portuguese and the remainder is made up of various race mixtures.

The mental examinations were made by use of group and individual tests. On account of lack of time and assistance, about two-thirds of the examinations were made by use of group tests. The following group tests were employed: (1) Haggerty, Delta 1<sup>1</sup> and Delta 2; (2) National Research Council, A and B; (3) University of Indiana. The individual tests were given by means of the Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale, with the exception of two or three with which the Stanford Revision of the Binet Scale was used. Twenty-seven cases were examined by such individual tests.

The estimate of mental ages by means of group tests is, of course, not as exact as that obtained by individual tests, but such estimates seem sufficiently accurate for statistical purposes and general conclusions, and in connection with the child's school grade the diagnosis of the mental capacity of the child is reasonably exact and satisfactory.

It is only fair to state, however, that the children of various races and racial mixtures, such as are encountered in Hawaii, are to some extent handicapped in mental testing

<sup>1</sup>Later sixty additional cases were added with similar results.



because of a certain amount of language difficulty. But, on the other hand, it should be remembered that with very few exceptions these children were born in Hawaii, have attended the regular schools, have associated with English-speaking people, have used the usual books employed in schools on the mainland in the same grades, and have been under the instruction of well trained teachers, most of whom are American. Because of racial differences, however, and the already mentioned language difficulty, the final estimate of mental capacity is unquestionably more difficult than it is with more homogeneous groups of mainland children.

With the most liberal interpretation of the mental findings it still remains apparent, however, that the majority of this group of Court children are of *low mental capacity*, and this is substantiated in most instances by their low grade standing in school.

The analysis of the one hundred cases selected for this report gives the following general results:

|                    |          |
|--------------------|----------|
| A or Above Normal  | 1 case   |
| B or Normal        | 6 cases  |
| C or Dull normal   | 6 cases  |
| D or Dull          | 20 cases |
| E or Border Line   | 12 cases |
| F or Feeble-minded | 55 cases |

Sixty-seven per cent are plainly subnormal (including groups E and F).

The median *actual age* of these one hundred cases is about fourteen years; the median *mental age* is about nine and one-half years. Regarded in respect to sex the *median actual age* of girls is fifteen and one-half years and the *median mental age* is nine and one-fourth years, giving an intelligence quotient of .60. For boys the *median actual age* is thirteen and one-half, and the *median mental age* is nine and one-half, giving an intelligence quotient

of .70. The percentage of feeble-minded girls is sixty-seven. The percentage of feeble-minded boys is forty-eight. It is significant that seventy-nine percent of the cases in which accurate information was obtainable, are retarded one or more years in school, and most of them are retarded several years.

Comparing the mental status<sup>1</sup> of children in the Honolulu Juvenile Court with a similar group in the Los Angeles Court we observe that in the former group there are fifty-five per cent of feeble-minded children as against thirty-three per cent in the latter group, and that while sixty-two per cent of the Los Angeles group are below normal (including the feeble-minded, dull and border line), there are eighty-seven per cent of the Honolulu group below normal. In respect to the normal group, we discover in Los Angeles thirty-eight percent of normal children as against thirteen per cent in the Honolulu group. In other words, there are only one third as many normal children in the Honolulu group as are found in the Los Angeles group, and there are only three-fifths as many feeble-minded children in the Los Angeles Court as there are in the Honolulu Court.

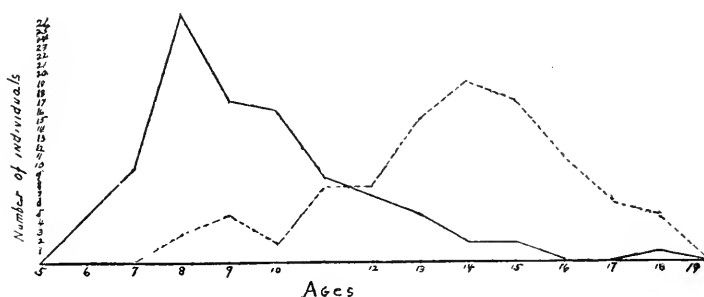
All studies of Juvenile Court cases coincide in respect to the fact that the majority are much retarded in school and subnormal in intelligence. It seems remarkable that this relation between school retardation, mental incapacity, and delinquency, has not until rather recently attracted more attention from school and court authorities and from the general public.

With the present means available for studying retardation in schools and obtaining knowledge of the mental capacity or intelligence of children, every effort should be made to determine these points accurately in every school system. This can only be done by the employment of a qualified expert, or, in the case of large school systems, of

several such experts. Where this is done, as for example in the school systems of Oakland, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Detroit, St. Louis and other cities, there has always resulted a decrease in the number of delinquent cases through the early determination of the *pre-delinquent types of children*. It is, therefore, everywhere becoming apparent that the study of pre-delinquency should accompany that of delinquency.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF CHRONOLOGICAL AND MENTAL AGES

*Solid Line represents Mental Age*  
*Broken Line represents Chronological Age*

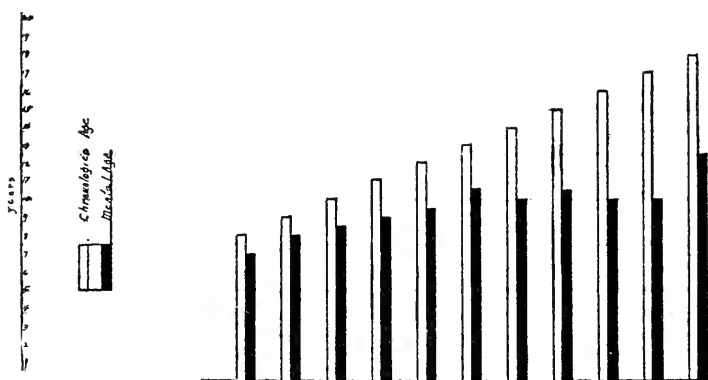


From a standpoint of practical economy this is a highly useful procedure. Most of the children of the delinquent and pre-delinquent class *repeat grades because they are mentally incapable of doing successfully the usual school work*. Their repetition of grades results in an enormous expense to the school department, to say nothing of the drag upon the whole system.

When one considers that the pre-delinquent children furnish only a small proportion of those repeating grades, for one reason or another, the necessity for expert service in the schools is too obvious to require argument. What is needed more than anything else with large numbers of these children is definitely planned *vocational guidance*. It has been demonstrated over and over again that once

the mental capacity of a child is determined and he is practically trained within his limitations, he is very unlikely to drift into delinquency. With the other types of school misfits *special education*, vocational or otherwise, is just as important.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND MENTAL AGES COMPARED



In relation to school records it is interesting to observe that the high degrees of mental retardation among this group of one hundred children is closely related to school retardation. Of the total number of sixty-eight boys,—forty-three repeated one or more grades, ten did not repeat grades, and fifteen are unrecorded. Eighty per cent of those recorded are repeaters. Of the total number of thirty-two girls, fifteen repeated one or more grades, five did not repeat grades, and twelve are unrecorded. Seventy-five per cent of those recorded repeated grades.

Estimating the cost of each year of schooling at \$35.00 in this territory, the amount of unnecessary grade repetition for the cases investigated amounts to one hundred fourteen years at a cost of about \$4,000.00. This amount of retardation is of course only a fraction of that for the whole school population. It is, therefore, evident that expert mental examinations in the schools and proper ad-

justments made on the data furnished would not only pay all the expense of such an expert or experts, but remove from the system a tremendous drag now entailed because of mal-adjustments. What these misfit children require is to a large extent definite vocational guidance suited to their particular intelligence and limitations. Without such adjustments, truancy and various forms of delinquency will inevitably continue, and social failure follow as it always has in the past.

In the main, no more physical defects were observed in the one hundred cases than in any equal number of non-selected children in the grades. The one exception to this health comparison is found in the number of cases re-acting to the Wasserman test for syphilis. Of the total one hundred cases the reaction was as follows:

|          |     |
|----------|-----|
| ++       | 23% |
| +        | 8%  |
| + -      | 8%  |
| Total    | 39% |
| Negative | 61% |

This result indicates a very high proportion of cases with syphilis reaction which in nearly all instances is probably of a congenital nature. This is of particularly serious import when one considers that for every case of Wasserman reaction in these court children there are probably two or more cases of reaction in the child's family. When one individual of a family reacts to a test for syphilis, every other individual in that family ought to be tested, for his own protection and that of others. Much of insanity, feeble-mindedness, degeneracy, and crime is due directly or indirectly to the effects of syphilis, particularly upon the central nervous system.<sup>2</sup> In general, the general physical

<sup>2</sup>Not every positive Wasserman necessarily means syphilis, but such reactions are extremely important and suggestive, and require further investigation. In Los Angeles the Wasserman reactions are 7% among court children.

condition of these boys and girls is much superior to that found in a similar mainland group.

Eight girls left school under the legal age of fifteen years, all but one to work. Seven boys left school before the legal age. A total of fifteen children among those investigated, therefore, left school before the age of fifteen years. Of the one hundred children chosen for this examination, 60 attend movies rather regularly and all without any particular supervision. Both boys and girls need more supervised play. It has always appeared to the writer that much of the so-called<sup>1</sup> delinquency is nothing more than misdirected play activity.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS<sup>3</sup>

This report shows a number of important points.

1. A<sup>1</sup> very high proportion of low mental levels, much higher than found in similar studies on the mainland.
2. A very high proportion of Wassermann reactions.
3. A high incidence of school retardation.
4. A large number of Court repeaters.
5. A disproportionately large number of Court cases from Hawaiians, and a very low proportion of Asiatics.
6. The necessity for routine Court and school mental tests.
7. The need of various kinds of special training.
8. The need of employment guidance.
9. The necessity for the study of pre-delinquent types of children in the schools.

<sup>3</sup>A study of racial differences as indicated by group intelligence tests with over six thousand children is contained in a separate report.

## CULTURAL DIFFUSION IN RELATION TO RACIAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

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WHEN the term culture is mentioned, the popular mind has visions of a person with a certain amount of polish; it pictures a person who can converse in French, perhaps in Italian, and who can comport himself at a formal social function without making any serious breaks in the code of etiquette. But culture is far more than a thin veneer. "The objective institutions and organizations of society and the subjective ideas, beliefs, standards and values which accompany them," writes Ellwood,<sup>1</sup> "make what we call collectively 'human culture' or civilization." "It is evident," he writes in the same connection, "that culture or civilization is made up not simply of acquired habits but on its inner side of the ideas, standards and values which are patterns of action in the minds of individuals." These cultural elements are of utmost importance in the life of a group, and, in fact, it is the development of culture which distinguishes the social life of man from that of the brutes. Man can make these accumulations through the medium of his social heredity, but since animals can pass nothing along by this means, they cannot acquire a culture or civilization.

There is a tendency to associate with culture only the more outstanding and impressive phenomena such as music, art, literature, philosophy, religion, government, education, science and technology, but this must be consid-

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished manuscript, *Mental Patterns in Social Evolution*.

ered a biased view. There are other elements, less impressive to be sure, which, nevertheless have to be included. Free public education and the separation of church and state are a part of our culture, but so are Charlie Chaplin films, Ford cars, Woolworth five and ten cent stores, "quick lunch," the well-known "57 varieties," the tearing up of the pavements in American municipalities, and the killing of people by automobile speeding. The *laissez faire* philosophy as well as woman's suffrage; "rings" in our city government as well as juvenile courts; Hearst newspapers as well as Longfellow's poems; and jazz bands as well as symphony orchestras are all elements of our culture.

When one notes that a woman in Burma and a man in America smoke the same weed; that the Fang of west Africa and the Bontoc Igorot of the Philippines both have an aversion to the use of cow's milk as an article of diet; that the Garos of Assam as well as the Polynesians use a kind of Jew's harp made of a slip of bamboo; that the method of fishing by stupefying the fish with poison is practised in the Andaman Islands and in certain areas of South America; that head-hunting was in vogue among the Was of southwest China as well as among the Dyaks of Borneo; that the Solomon Islanders as well as the Pueblo Indians have common sleeping houses for men which are taboo to women; that the Damaras of southwest Africa practice rites in common with the New Zealanders, such as the chipping out of the front teeth and cutting off the little finger; and that a game practically identical with the "cat's cradle" of American children is played by the Korean and even by the Eskimo, then quite naturally some questions begin to clamor for an answer.

When similar cultural traits are thus observed in different groups, the first solution that suggests itself is that these traits have originated independently in each of these areas. The underlying assumption in this theory of inde-



pendent origin is that the human mind is practically the same everywhere and under similar environmental conditions the same results are inevitable.

The second alternative is that these resemblances are due to borrowing. This is called the diffusion theory. According to this, an invention occurs in one group and this new idea is dispersed to other groups. These are the most common theories. There are, however, other explanations offered.

Champions of independent origin go too far in stressing the original inventiveness of men. Originality is after all a quite rare manifestation. No doubt a procession of several millions of men had witnessed the boiling of water and the effects of steam, but it remained for James Watt to harness this energy. Useful and widespread as the steam engine is at present, it does not appear to have been invented by any other person. For many centuries and in many lands, countless numbers of people have toiled in the harvest fields and many have been the aching backs as a result of binding the sheaves of grain, but it remained for Cyrus H. McCormick to invent the reaper. The persons who are stimulated to originate new ideas are, in reality, few and far between. One need but read a number of the new books which are daily appearing to note that original ideas are so rare that the finding of one actually gives a shock to the reader.

On the other hand if one adopts the diffusion theory unreservedly, certain big problems arise. To carry this to its logical conclusion, all cultural elements would originate in one center and be diffused to all other areas. This would allow for very little originality and would stand in the way of progress.

As a matter of fact, allowance must be made for both positions. When certain problems are considered there appears to be only one solution and it would not be unrea-

sonable to expect that several groups would ultimately arrive at the same result. But it is characteristically human to follow the path of least resistance and it has usually been far easier to borrow an idea from a neighboring group than to originate one. Many simple ideas, however, appear to have been invented in several different places, but it would not be reasonable to expect that a highly complex invention had been made in several different areas. We could hardly expect the incandescent light to have been invented in several different areas. At the present time, however, an invention may actually occur simultaneously in two distinct places, but the inventors often have been trained in the same scientific technique and they have read the same literature in the field. When these factors are considered these inventions can hardly be looked upon as being of independent origin.

The question now arises as to the bearing of these theories upon racial and international problems. If the theory of independent origins be adopted, each group can say that it has originated all the elements in its own culture. This position will give great comfort to certain advocates of the idea of inferior and superior races; it will help the haughty to become more haughty still and the chauvinist and the jingoist element to become more rabid still. This intolerant attitude of superiority has been responsible for many problems and difficulties. This attitude refuses to give other groups credit for any of their accomplishments. Western people will point with haughty pride to their material civilizations and loudly proclaim their superiority. But man cannot live by stock coupons alone. The Occident may well learn from the Orient that there are other elements worthy of consideration. "The Indian," writes Fleming,<sup>2</sup> 'will admit our practical bent, our inventiveness, our wealth and luxury and power; but he refuses to

<sup>2</sup>*Building with India*, 17.

be dazzled by these things. He believes that, although his culture may lack certain qualities which we rank high, there is still much in Indian civilization that is good, beautiful, and valuable, and which can supplement other cultures of the world." The Indian has a capacity to detach himself from mere material things; he has time to contemplate and meditate.

Instead of independent inventions being the big factor in the development of civilizations, borrowing is fundamental. Certain civilized groups, however, are quite likely to take the position that culture is passed only from the higher levels to lower and consequently they have originated everything they possess while it is only out of their generosity that they are condescending to permit some few crumbs to fall upon other groups. But it should be noted that it is not always the people on the lower cultural levels who remain passive recipients of the various elements which are spread through diffusion. Culture also diffuses from lower to higher levels as is illustrated by the adoption by the American colonists of the maize culture complex from the Indians. They did not simply borrow the seed of the Indian corn and develop their own agricultural technique, but they took over the entire process, even to the methods of preparing the corn as food in the shape of hominy and corn meal mush. The Negro is popularly considered inferior to the white man, yet, according to a number of ethnologists, he is credited with the discovery of the iron technique. Subtract this one element from our industrial civilization and what would be our present status?

Products and ideas come from the outside and thus a group is enabled to profit by the cultural accumulations of its neighbors. If we investigate the origin and development of our own modern civilization, we are forced to admit that it is the product of influences which have come

from various sources. "Our economic life," writes Lowie,<sup>3</sup> "based as it is on the agricultural employment of certain cereals with the aid of certain domesticated animals, is derived from Asia; so is the technologically invaluable wheel. The domestication of the horse certainly originated in inner Asia; modern astronomy rests on that of the Babylonians, Hindus and Egyptians; the invention of glass is an Egyptian contribution; spectacles came from India; paper, to mention only one other significant element of our civilization, was borrowed from China." The kite, which is used extensively for meteorological purposes as well as for a boy's toy, was introduced into Europe from the Orient in the seventeenth century. "Kites," comments Haddon,<sup>4</sup> "are said to have been invented by the Chinese General, Han Sin, about 200 B.C." Hoodman Blind, or as it is more commonly called Blind Man's Buff, was known to the Grecian youth in remote antiquity. We speak of base ball as the great American game, but Strutt,<sup>5</sup> describes a game called "club-ball" which is essentially the same as our national pastime. Walter Camp of Yale University is generally credited with being the father of American foot-ball, but even he cannot lay too strong claims on any originality, for among the ancient Romans a game was played with an inflated leather ball when two teams met on a rectangular field. Since there was much throwing of the ball toward the opponent's goal, this may be considered a prototype of the present-day forward-passing game.<sup>6</sup>

During recent decades the Japanese have been making rapid progress, but the mere mention of that fact brings the retort that they have borrowed heavily from the Occident. True it is, but before we criticize this nation too se-

<sup>3</sup>*Culture and Ethnology*, 33.

<sup>4</sup>*The Study of Man*, 188

<sup>5</sup>*Sports and Pastimes*, 104.

<sup>6</sup>Harper, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities and Literature*, article *Pila*.

verely we should be careful to eliminate from our culture all elements which have not been originated by our own inventive genius. As a matter of fact, there is very little original thinking without the cross-fertilization of ideas, and the new suggestions come largely from the outside. "Only through co-operation and mutual help," writes Ratzel,<sup>7</sup> "has mankind succeeded in climbing to a stage of civilization on which its highest members now stand. On the nature and extent of this intercourse the growth depends."

If the position be taken that, in large measure, the culture of a group has been acquired through diffusion from many centers, an entirely different attitude will be the result. According to this theory there is no race which owes its culture to its own inventive genius, but every race has borrowed and has been influenced by others. On the other hand, each group has made its own contribution by transmitting to others its own creations as well as certain elements which it has borrowed. If different groups become saturated with this idea, there will be less ground for the development of a feeling of superiority while there will be greater possibilities for the growth of a feeling of equality. Each has made and can make some contribution for the good of all, and all will feel that the exchange of goods and ideas is mutually advantageous to all. Then instead of building up walls and defenses against each other, there will be a greater desire to get into touch with each other in order to give and to receive stimulations which may lead to greater progress. This will help different racial and national groups in uniting into one great brotherhood where there will be mutual goodwill and conflicts will be reduced to a minimum.

<sup>7</sup>*History of Mankind*, I, 25.

# SEX DISTRIBUTION IN THE NEGRO AND MULATTO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

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A RECENT government publication on the Negro population of the United States<sup>1</sup> brings together a vast amount of statistical information hitherto not easily available. Certain of the chapters, notably nine and eleven on "Sex Composition" and "Color—Black and Mulatto Elements" respectively, seem to throw some additional light on the subject of racial intermixture in its relation to the sex-ratio.

The figures for the total Negro population in 1910 show an excess of females in the ratio of 1,000 to 989. In 1900 the ratio was 98.6. A similar excess of females over males has been found to exist at every census period since 1840. The two enumerations preceding 1840 showed a slight excess of males, but the sex-ratios of these earlier periods were determined in considerable part by the fact that there was a larger importation of male than of female slaves and the figures, consequently, have no significance in the present connection.

An excess of females in a population is an exception to the prevailing rule. It is a well-known fact that the probabilities of a child being born a son or a daughter are not quite equal. The European statistics show a slight masculinity in the number of living-born children, the proportion varying slightly from country to country and, within the same country, from year to year. There is also some

<sup>1</sup>*Negro Population, 1790-1915.* Bureau of the Census. 1918

slight variation as between different conditions of life. But, in spite of fluctuations, the chances are slightly in favor of the male sex.

Owing to the higher infant mortality of males, the tertiary sex-ratio, as well as the sex-ratio of the total population, is somewhat lower than the ratio at birth. The males may even drop behind in absolute numbers though, under modern conditions of life, this is not usual except in the later age periods. Emigration, immigration, migration, war, urbanization, and other causes may and do bring about disturbances in the normal sex-ratio. But aside from such local and temporary disturbances, the numbers of male and female in modern populations are approximately equal. Europe is the only major division showing a population with an excess of females. In comment upon this exception to the general rule it is commonly assumed that emigration to other continents is an adequate explanation.

While the population of the United States as a whole shows a decided masculinity—104.4—there are pronounced class and regional variations. The conditions of life and work, operating through migration, make for an excess of women in the cities and in the older settled regions and for an excess of men in rural and frontier regions and in certain industrial districts. In such cases the selective nature of the environment is so immediate and obvious as to furnish an undisputed explanation of the sex disturbance. Also, in regard to the distinctly immigrant groups which show an excess of men there is no occasion to seek explanation beyond the immediate facts: the ratio of the sexes is determined by the relative number of the two sexes immigrating. But there are other groups in the population showing a disturbed sex-ratio, the cause of which is less immediately obvious. There is an excess of females in the native white population of mixed parentage and in

the native white population of foreign parentage. In the latter case it is extremely slight; in the former case it is marked—1,000 females to 985 males.

In these classifications by parentage and nativity there enter several sources of possible error. In the absence of information to the contrary, persons were classed by the enumerators as native and of native parentage. Doubtless some foreign-born persons were returned by the enumerators as natives. Also some may have been returned as native of native parentage who in reality were native of foreign or mixed parentage. Such errors would tend to be more common in the case of men than in the case of women owing to the fact that the men, more frequently than the women, were away from home at the time of the enumeration. In some such cases men were doubtless omitted from the count. And in all such cases the information in regard to the men was at second-hand or by inference. The tendency of the statistics of these racial groups of mixed and foreign parentage would be, therefore, to minimize the number of men and to exaggerate the excess of women.

There is an additional and more important source of error in enumeration statistics of parentage and nativity. The usual desire of the second generation is to be accepted as Americans. They are anxious to escape the stigma that in certain levels of American society attaches to the person of foreign origin. This desire on the part of the immigrant people themselves and especially on the part of their children would doubtless in some cases lead to a misstatement in regard to a foreign origin or parentage and so reinforce the tendency of the enumeration itself to minimize the number of foreign birth and especially the number of those of native birth of foreign or mixed parentage. These facts apply to both the men and the women but they do not apply to each sex equally. Owing to their more numerous contacts with American men and ways, the men sooner



than the women lose the superficial ear marks of an alien extraction and sooner find it advantageous to conceal the fact of their foreign origin and ancestry. These purely social factors seem adequate to explain the fact that the returns of the groups show an excess of women in the ratio of 1,000 to 985 men.

In the Negro group, the sex-ratio is little affected by immigration or emigration. In nearly all cases the Negroes are native-born Americans of native parentage. They are more properly comparable, therefore, with the white population of native parentage and with the native Indian population. In each of these other native groups there is an excess of males: the sex-ratio of the native whites is 104.2; in the Indian group it is 103.5. In the Negro population it is 98.9. The sex-ratio among the Negroes is, however, subject to marked regional and age disturbances. In the West the males are in excess in the ratio of 1,207 to 1,000; in the North the sex-ratio is 101.8. In the South the numbers are in the ratio of 984 males to 1,000 females. These variations are perhaps adequately accounted for by the phenomenon of migration: the males more frequently than the females undertake long-distance, inter-state migration.

The process of urbanization, more than that of long-distance migration, has resulted in pathological disturbance of the sex-ratio. "Throughout the country the rural Negro population is predominantly male, the urban Negro population is predominantly female."<sup>2</sup> In the urban Negro population in 1910 the sex-ratio was 90.8; in the rural districts the males numbered 1,021 to each 1,000 females. A similar disproportion of the sexes as between the city and the country, however, exists in the native white population. The somewhat less marked excess of women to men in the latter case is due to the fact that the

<sup>2</sup>*Negro Population*, p. 152.

native white population as a whole has an excess of males and is, more largely than the Negro, an urban population. In the excess of women in the urban movement the Negro people would seem to be responding to exactly the same stimuli and in exactly the same way as the white people. It is in no sense a peculiar race phenomenon.

The sex distribution by ages is likewise striking in its irregularity. The excess of females appears from the earliest ages: under one year the ratio of females is as 1,000 to 988. The ratio then falls with a single exception, admitted to be due to errors in the returns, to the age period of 20-24 years. Here the excess of females reaches its highest point—1,000 to 879. Above this age the excess of females again falls until during the later age periods the males are in excess. The excess of females during the years of early adult life is especially characteristic of the urban districts. There the excess is in the ratio of 1,000 females to 779 males; in the rural districts the excess is as 1,000 to 949.

It is only when we turn to the comparative sex-ratio of the black and mulatto elements of the Negro population that the significance of the excess of females becomes apparent. It is not the Negro population but the mulatto division of the Negro population which shows an excess of females. In 1910 the sex-ratio for the total Negro population was 98.9; for the black division of the Negro group, 101.9; and for the mulatto division 88.6. The only other censuses that give comparable figures are those of 1860 and 1870. Both show a similar excess of females in the mulatto population. The excess of females is thus a characteristic of the mixed-blood branch of the race, not of the Negro proper. Otherwise stated, among the black Negroes there is an excess of males, among the mulattoes there is an excess of females. The excess in the latter case is sufficiently great that, in spite of the much smaller number of mulattoes than of the black Negroes, there appears

an excess of females when the two groups are classed together as the Negro population.

This phenomenon is characteristic of every section of the country except the West where, owing to the highly immigrant character of the Negro population, the males are very slightly in excess. The contrast is shown in the following tabulation:

#### MALES PER 1,000 FEMALES

| DIVISION      | BLACK | MULATTO |
|---------------|-------|---------|
| South         | 1,013 | 877     |
| North         | 1,050 | 937     |
| West          | 1,296 | 1,041   |
| United States | 1,018 | 866     |

It is the excess of females among the mulattoes in connection with the fact that the mulattoes are to a much greater extent than the Negroes an urban population which accounts for the great excess of females over males in the Negro urban population. In the total Negro population the females are in excess in the urban and the males in the rural population. The same thing is true of the black division of the race. In the mulatto group, however, the females are in excess in both the rural and the urban population. In the latter the ratio is nearly ten to eight. The following tabulation shows the contrast in a striking way.

#### MALES PER 1,000 FEMALES

| POPULATION  | URBAN | RURAL |
|-------------|-------|-------|
| Total Negro | 908   | 1,021 |
| Black       | 947   | 1,043 |
| Mulatto     | 810   | 931   |

Where lies the explanation of the sex-ratio pointed out? The excess is found in the groups of mixed parentage and in the Negro population, also known to be much mixed.

The excess seems to be greatest in the groups where the ancestry is ethnically most widely divergent. There is thus raised the ghost of a former theory: the doctrine that cross breeding produces an excess of females; that inbreeding produces an excess of males. It is to some such interpretation that the report seems to lean in the statement that "In a sense it is a natural ratio for this class of the population. . . ."<sup>3</sup> It seems unnecessary, however, to resort to this order of explanation; a sufficient causal explanation seems to lie in the social facts.

The first step in any rational consideration of the Negro group is some sort of division between the Negroes of relatively pure type and those obviously of mixed-blood origin. The former are Negroes because of ancestry; the latter are Negroes by choice or by force of social circumstances. When such a division is made, even on the basis of so imperfect a classification as that of the census enumeration, the ratio of the sexes in the Negro group proper is 1,000 females to 995 males. With this statement the whole problem, so far as the Negro is concerned, disappears. The excess of females is sufficiently low as to very certainly fall within the limits of chance variation and enumeration inaccuracies. Any new generation or enumeration may equalize or reverse the ratios.

But in the Negro group of mixed-blood origin the proportion of females is excessive. As in the case of persons of foreign extraction, omissions from the count would tend to minimize the proportion of men. The same thing would be true in regard to inaccuracies in the classification of persons with so little Negro blood that they would be recognized by the enumerator as Negroes only if they so returned themselves or were found in Negro settlements and homes. In the case of mixed marriages, the colored mem-

<sup>3</sup>*Negro Population*, p. 147. Speaking here of the Negro group as a whole.

ber of the union no doubt frequently appeared in the returns as white. Since such marriages are much more frequently of white women and Negro men than the reverse errors of classification would tend to a reduction of the number of colored men.

More important than accidental omissions from the count and inaccuracies due to imperfect classification is the custom of light-skinned mulattoes changing their racial status, identifying themselves with the white race, and passing as white men. The racial classification is a serious handicap to a white Negro. It bars him from certain occupations and associations and denies him opportunities that are open to others of no greater native ability. Many of these individuals as they come to early manhood move to new localities and report themselves as white.<sup>4</sup>

The Negro man of the near-white type is far more likely to leave the Negro group and align himself with the white than is the near-white Negro girl. His opportunities to do so are somewhat better. He is more free in his choice of residence and associates. The near-white Negro girl may, and frequently does, work in an office or store and pass there as a white girl. But her friends and associates are most likely in the Negro group. Rather rarely does she sever entirely all connections with her Negro relatives and friends. Her marriage is pretty sure to be into the Negro group rather than out of it. In this case her connection with the white world is over unless, as occasionally happens, both man and wife are of the near-white type and together leave the Negro for the white world.

It is just in the situation where it is easiest for the white Negro to become a white man, the city and the North, and where it is most usual for the change to be made that the

<sup>4</sup>Hart, Hornell. *Selective Migration as a Factor in Child Welfare*, p. 30, estimates that the number is not less than 25,000 a year.

discrepancy in the numbers of the sexes is greatest. It is also in those ages when the most white Negroes become white men that the greatest discrepancy exists in the numbers of the sexes. At the earlier ages they are simply members of their family groups. When old enough to migrate and old enough to realize the handicap of a colored skin in the competition for success, the youth is also at the age when it is easiest to conceal any non-striking racial features. These are the age groups where there is the lowest proportion of males to females in the mulatto population. In the higher ages the differences in numbers is less marked. This too coincides with the well-known fact that many Negroes who spend a time as white men return to become again members of their earlier group.

The difference in the number of men and women of the mulatto group who "cross over" is sufficient to be considered as an important element in accounting for the differences in the tertiary sex-ratios.



The Fordney tariff act, while benefitting specific industries in many different parts of the country, will cost according to recent estimates, the consumers in our country perhaps three billion dollars a year. The question may be raised if three billions annually is not a large sum for a nation to tax itself in order to benefit certain industries. It hinders European countries from paying their war debts to the United States, and tends to create a state of economic isolation for our nation at a time when world leadership is desirable and possible. It cuts off our markets abroad, for if the bankrupt peoples of the world cannot sell to us they will have no money with which to buy. The Fordney tariff is in no sense a scientific tariff, and those who hope to profit by it may soon find that it will defeat its own ends, except as it makes possible the increasing of selling prices to our own people.

# THE NATURE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

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MORE and more the sociologist is coming to find himself in the position of a consulting engineer. Educators have only recently come to him to ask for the determination of objectives in their science; political scientists and statesmen have frequently made use of his findings and have tempered and adjusted their decisions accordingly; and now there is ample evidence to believe that the industrial leaders, representative of both capital and labor, are already in consultation with him.

The sociologist, who has been a seer, has already definitely formulated and arranged his plans for being of worthy service to the cause of industry. Indeed he could not well have laid claims to being a serious student of group life and group behavior if he had not taken the pains to investigate and survey those groups intimately concerned with the industrial processes. What concerns him most, however, is his aim in the scientific analysis of human associations in all its manifest forms—the laudable objective of ascertaining ways and means whereby his fellow-beings may be shown not only how to be more useful to themselves and to each other, but how to live the worthier and happier life. The search for a scientific basis of the art of right living together has yielded the discovery of some general motivating interests of human life. It is to the sociologist that the world is indebted for a splendid summary of those interests which express man's ideas of values—security, health, wealth, righteousness, knowledge, beauty, religion, sociability, progeny.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Snedden, D., *Educational Sociology*, p. 243.

It can hardly be disputed that man, so long as he maintains his health, overemphasizes so much his interest in wealth that the present age is being designated as the "acquisitive" age, an age one of whose principal goals is profits and whose lord of the manor is the profiteer. Moreover, another emphasis comes from the fact that wealth is being looked upon as the *sole* means of securing many of the other interests. How fortunate it is that the spiritual elements in these interests defy purchasing!

Wealth creation and wealth accumulation are thus seen to constitute a major portion, if indeed not a determining portion, of man's activities. In the course of pursuing these functions he has seen the necessity of creating a large number of institutions for the meeting and satisfaction of his economic interests. It is this rich and fertile field of occupational and economic associations that the sociologist may analyze with profit to himself and to the world at large. For it is here that takes place much of that which adds to or subtracts from human happiness. The sociologist, who from his researches and his surveys made in this field can help to create attitudes which will serve to bring about needed readjustments between the parties in industry, will indeed have lived up to his ideals, *truth* and *service*. And one of the first of those created attitudes must result in the establishment of the thought that industry and its processes has not been created for the sole purpose of the acquisition of wealth, but for the satisfying of human needs and desires, for the development of both the worker and the employer as human beings, for the creation of those higher spiritual elements in human values.

The field and purpose of an industrial sociology having been thus broadly stated, it may be well further to indicate just what the sociologist is called upon to investigate in this economic and industrial section and just what he



may have to proffer as a result of the careful and critical analysis of his inventory. Let it be understood, however, that he labors under no such delusion as that of providing a panacea for economic ills or of ushering in the millennium. His task is not that of the sole executor. At best, he may but help to discover the needed procedure and to indicate the manner of its development. But this latter process and the reception of it must lie directly in other hands—those of the economist and the leaders of the industrial household.

The entire sphere of industry and its related activities must perforce come under the careful scrutiny of the surveyor of socio-economic institutions. Particular stress must be placed upon the fact that in this field man is struggling in the midst of strife to maintain himself and that privilege, bitterness, and competition have resulted in the creation of a new status of classes. The general impression of unrest, the difficulties of maintaining decent family life, the indifference to the welfare of women and children, the efforts of the greedy in the accumulation of land, the fraudulent intent of unscrupulous speculation, the lack of equal protection and the numerous instances of gross social injustices—these urge the necessity of many thorough-going inquiries and profound researches.

The industrial sociologist may advantageously give consideration to capitalism. Several questions may more quickly indicate the trend of his path in conducting the inquiry than any long discussion. What is the nature and origin of capital? Purely economical? What are the general advantages of the capitalistic system? Advantages to capitalists in particular? Disadvantages? Advantages and disadvantages to the wage-earner? Effects of the system on human relationships? Can the system be utilized for service?

In the realm of labor, a similar course must be pursued.

Here he can secure primary contacts with the men, women and children in industry. What are their attitudes as affected by machine industry? What are they struggling to express? Can the situation be improved for them through a knowledge of the scientific application of the laws of human behavior?

By way of knowing intimately the vital elements in industrial class struggle the home life as conditioned by labor conditions must be carefully investigated. What sort of well-being is extended to the wage-earner by his daily wage? By hours and conditions of work? What standards of living do we find? What are the effects of these standards on the worker's family? On society in general? How far does the security of society rest on that of the worker? What are the moral and social issues involved in such problems as child labor? Women in industry? Unemployment?

In the light of scientific inquiry, the sociologist must note the steps already taken by other individuals and groups in behalf of, or against, the interests of the parties in industry. What has the state accomplished? What relation has the church to industry and what is its duty? Have political movements, such as socialism, anything to offer? What have been the proposals for remedies on the part of capitalists, laborers, the public, legislators, economists, educators, and the like on mooted questions? An evaluation in the knowledge of sociological theory must be made, and the constructive and destructive elements classified on a basis determined by social welfare. Moreover, the projective method must be instituted. What other movements or what other groups could be brought into play to serve on a utilitarian basis for the solution of perplexing industrial questions?

Through some such maze of inquiry and investigation the social engineer comes to see the industrial process as a

whole. He it is who has been the close watcher in the very heart of industrial activities. He it is who from the observation tower gets a bird's eye view, notes the signals for distress, sees the wants and needs of the interested parties. Thus he can readily analyze their conflicting interests. It may be necessary for him to retire in order to contemplate and philosophize. But he emerges after a time and applies the results of his philosophy of social thought to the questions anent this struggle for the possession of economic goods. His knowledge of the social processes of individual and pluralistic behavior, and his wealth of observation and experience are entered into his conclusions. Whatever the remedies, they can only be applied with the right kind of social thinking. He realizes full well that the human factor in industry is the thing that counts, that the idea of might and cunning as right must be supplanted by humanitarian ideals. Love, not hate, must be the guiding principle in the industrial process!

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL TREND

*By the Editor*

THE ANNUAL gathering of the sociologists of the United States affords unique opportunities for considering the trend of sociological thought. The seventeenth annual meetings held in Chicago during the recent holidays were remarkable for the attendance, the high degree of interest shown, the quality of the papers read, the wholesome good fellowship that prevailed, the scientific emphasis, and the ethical and personality undercurrents.

As demonstrated at these meetings, sociology is making rapid strides. It is proving itself increasingly worthy of public confidence and is steadily receiving recognition, not only from the public but from scientific thinkers, even in the physical science fields as well as in the older and related social sciences, such as economics, history, and religion.

Sociology is to be rated less as an approach to societal problems, less of a point of view, than formerly, and more as a diagnosis of group life, social contacts, social stimulation, attitudes, behavior, and adjustments. There is an unmistakable tendency to the effect that sociology is developing as a scientific study of group phenomena. Professor C. H. Cooley's noteworthy accentuation upon "primary groups," such as the family group, play groups, neighborhood groups, is finding a hearty acceptance as a starting point for sociological inquiry. The beginning pupil is encouraged to make an analysis of the primary groups in which he has been born and reared, to chart the types of contacts which each of the primary groups have afforded, and to classify and rate the influences which the leading contacts have generated. In these personal con-

tacts and cultural backgrounds are to be found the motivating factors in character development and in group progress.

Each succeeding year marks the advance of sociology as a study of human life in behavioristic and objective terms as the most reliable method of evaluating subjective factors, such as consciousness, motives, interests. The behavior of an individual for a period of time and under a variety of circumstances involving crises and conflicts, provides the most tangible evidences of evaluating personality traits, and discloses the truly significant phases of life in ways that may yet be measured in quantitative and qualitative terms.

While giving full weight to the value of intelligence tests sociology apparently would regard them partially as tests of training rather than of inherited ability, and as tests of the social contacts and stimuli which the given individual has experienced. Sociology is insisting that they be supplemented by tests of feeling and emotion responses, of social attitude and interest responses, and of other activity traits until all the phases of personal life are analyzed in a composite and dependable diagnosis.

Although manifesting appreciation of individual differences in inherited traits, sociology is pointing out that all individuals above the small percentage of mentally defective give evidence of possessing vast, undeveloped resources of mental ability, of imagination, of emotional drive, of inventiveness, and of leadership traits, and hence is supporting broadly democratic principles of education. It gives an open ear to the findings of genetics and eugenics and yet holds no theory of racial arrogance, but rather is finding that the data show that the races represented in the "newer immigration," crude as some of their members are, may represent a race level above that of the status of Angles and Saxons two thousand years ago, and that

given time and rationally sympathetic treatment, may attain high levels. It is a hopeful sign that along the group, cultural, biologic, and psychological approaches to the study of group phenomena, as well as in the center of the field of investigation, sociology is maintaining an atmosphere of democratic interpretation.

A further examination of the addresses given and the papers read at the Sociological Society sessions reveals that special attention is being given to the problems of rural life and to the securing of better leadership and of more community consciousness among rural people. The concept of community organization was repeatedly advanced as holding the secret for magnifying a democratic consciousness and securing democratic participation. Social work discussions received a sympathetic hearing not only in their professional aspects, but chiefly as furnishing problems for the sociologist to solve. "Where social work fails, there is the place for the sociologist to step in and analyze the situation." The teaching of sociology was put prominently in the foreground, and the call to sociology to lead the way in determining the objectives of an educational system, of modern industry, and of government was deemed urgent. The idea is gaining prestige that socialized behavior is largely habit, and that the habits which are most determinative in human life are those that are deeply fixed in early life, even before critical thought habits are established. Learning is habit formation, and sociological teaching that is to yield a fair measure of fruitage in socialized behavior must be begun early in life and must furnish ample opportunities for socialized habit formation.

## Book Notes

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By JAMES M. WILLIAMS. Alfred A. Knopf, 1922, pp. xii+459.

In an earlier volume, *Foundations of Social Science*, the author defined social psychology as the science of human motives, a subjective study. While this emphasis is maintained in the present volume, the analysis shifts to an extended consideration of conflict. The four brief chapters which are given to "essential tendencies of human behavior," such as rivalry, fear, sympathy, might well be expanded and the group tendencies made more inclusive. The core of the treatise is devoted to an enlivening discussion of the conflict of interests in (1) economic, (2) political, (3) professional, (4) family, (5) cultural, and (6) educational relations, although the social origins of "interests," however, do not seem to have been given their full recognition.

The author's main contribution perhaps is his effectual presentation of "rivalry" as a fundamental factor in psycho-social life. No other treatise equals this in the light thrown on the widespread operations of the rivalrous disposition. There will probably be those, however, who will wish that the author had presented the foundations of social psychology more largely from the standpoint of the social and psychical inter-actions of original human nature units with an analysis of the resultant behavior uniformities, dissimilarities, and development. The style of the book is scholarly, dignified, and stimulating.

E. S. B.

HUMAN BEHAVIOR. By STEWART PATON. Scribner's, 1922, pp. 465.

With a background of medical knowledge and a strongly developed mechanistic point of view, the author analyzes personality in terms of adjustment mechanisms. He has minutely charted all the physical and neurological cause and effect elements in personality, but has not entered into a discussion of the more complex psychological factors or socio-psychical elements, although he does make a valuable application of his analyses in and through the field of education. One of the best chapters is that on habit formation. Although the approach of the author is from the standpoint of man as an individ-

ual rather than as a group-process product, the aim is excellent, namely, that of understanding man in order that his improvement may be expedited and the results obtained merit careful consideration.

E. S. B.

THE SOCIAL TREND. By EDWARD A. ROSS. The Century Co., 1922, pp. 235.

In this small volume Dr. Ross has gathered fourteen interesting essays, each dealing with a vital social problem. The author assumes the point of view of a ship pilot whose duty it is to catch first sight of lurking dangers. And what a first-rate pilot Dr. Ross proves to be! Luckily, for the voyagers, too, is the fact that the skipper, in the sight of some pretty bad danger marks, never quite loses his delicate play of humor. In commenting on the necessity of limitations of birth we find him saying "An increasing number of the peoples of the globe will either have to violate what they are assured is God's law or else multiply until it will be necessary to hang out on our planet the 'Standing Room Only' sign!"

Some of the more important themes worked out by the author dwell on the domestic positions of women, prohibition, the legal profession, training for social service, the wage question, and war. Convincing pleas are made for the legal dismissal wage, and for freedom of speech. The good red blood of true American freedom expresses itself in sentences like this: "It is inexpressibly shocking that the rights of free communication established so long ago at such cost of patriotic blood, time-tested rights which in thousands of instances have vindicated their value for moral and social progress . . . should with increasing frequency be flouted by strong employers and set at naught by local authorities." Truly, I like the fearlessness of the man in the crow's nest.

M. J. V.

PUBLIC HEALTH SURVEYS, By MURRAY P. HARWOOD. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1921, pp. xxii+403.

While this book deals specifically with health surveys, it is of great value in other fields as well. The discussion on the organization of the community and the methods for obtaining the reaction of the community are of value in connection with any kind of survey. This treatise does not stop with giving rule-of-thumb methods for making surveys, but discusses the various subjects in such a way as to give some meaning to the inquiries.

W. C. S.



OUR NEIGHBORS. By ANNIE MARION MACLEAN. Macmillan, 1922, pp. 288.

In this book the reader is given more than a group of sketches of "How the Other Half Lives;" he is offered a series of case studies of how large numbers of Americans are living and working under handicaps, chiefly of unfavorable and unjust economic and social environments, that would be considered unbearable by the upper middle and wealthy classes if they were obliged to face them personally, and yet "we are members one of another, and if one member suffers all the others suffer with him." This group of carefully depicted incidents is almost a classic in its field and deserves to be read by all who are socially and economically fortunate. E. S. B.

CLIMATIC CHANGES. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. Yale University Press, 1922, pp. 329.

No student of sociology can afford to neglect the physical influences that are continually affecting group life; and no phase of these influences is more important than the climatic one. Professor Huntington develops the theory that "the earth's present climatic variations are correlated with changes in the solar atmosphere," and thus relates sunspots to weather changes on the earth's surface. He suggests that the sunspots are caused in part by the planets and stars. In addition to (1) solar causes, climatic changes are due to (2) the form and altitude of the lands, (3) the degree to which the continents are united, (4) the movement of ocean currents, (5) the activity of volcanoes, and (6) the composition of the atmosphere and the ocean. This is an excellent work in the field of climatic hypothesis and fact. E. S. B.

THE NEGRO PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES. By F. G. DETWEILER. University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 272.

In a dignified, scholarly, and exhaustive way, the author has analyzed the Negro press which he states numbered at least 492 papers that were being published in the United States in 1921, and has shown the types of attitudes that are being expressed through these media by the Negro people. One gathers two main impressions from this scientific treatise: first, that the Negro is being greatly discriminated against, and second, that he is reacting with increasing vigor against this discrimination and often hinders his own cause by an overemphasis on "rights" and other demands. The volume is replete with source materials and illustrates an excellent sociological methodology. E. S. B.

AMERICANS BY CHOICE. By JOHN PALMER GAVIT. Harper, 1922, pp. xiv+449.

In this book, the eighth of the series of eleven volumes being edited by A. T. Burns upon the subject of Americanization, the author gives a clear and comprehensive description of the process by which persons not born in the United States may acquire American citizenship. Admission to our political society should be on a basis of the personal qualifications of the individual, rather than as at present, upon race or color. The "newer immigration" is shown to be somewhat more assimilable than the "older immigration," which point is often overlooked. The requirement of having two witnesses and the same two witnesses who will swear to having known the petitioner during his five years' residence is vigorously criticized; a suggested remedy being that the applicant produce a body of reasonable and competent evidence sufficient to convince the court of his desirability. Mr. Gavit is willing for the standards of admission to be made as severe as is desirable, but he does ask that the procedure of complying with them be simple, direct, as inexpensive as possible, and readily understood by anyone of ordinary intelligence. The book is the best in its field today.

C. E.

CAUSES AND CURES FOR THE SOCIAL UNREST. By ROSS L. FINNEY. Macmillan, 1922, pp. 286.

The author's main proposition is: "The attitude of labor has been spoiled by modern capitalism; and we of the middle class are the victims." His suggested remedy is "to get everybody into the middle class," by giving the lowest classes more co-operative opportunity and withdrawing from the "highest" classes some of the fat prizes which they now draw. Rarely does one find so sincere and well-tempered an appeal to the middle classes to bestir themselves to save society, for neither the wealthiest nor the poorest classes can do it—each is dragging society down.

THE RURAL MIND AND SOCIAL WELFARE. By ERNEST R. GROVES. University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. xiii+205.

In this interpretation of the rural mind in terms of psychological factors, such as self-assertion, sex and parental instincts, fear, pugnacity, play, the author throws new light upon some of the differences between rural and urban life, and emphasizes the importance of rural people in national life.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL LIFE. By CHARLES PLATT. Dodd-Mead, 1922, pp. 284.

The author, who is an eminent English scholar and physician, begins his book from the viewpoint that society and the individual are in reality the two phases or sides to the same phenomenon of human life. In Part I he discusses gregariousness, the sex instinct, fear, habit, imitation, custom, tradition, fashion, sympathy, suggestion, and mass action; and in Part Two he offers a psychological theory of society and argues against socialism and in favor of democracy. Part One is superior to Part Two. Although it is difficult to understand the author when he asserts: "In the first place man is individual, not social," and "The formation of habit is a purely individual phenomenon;" the book on the whole represents a helpful treatment of many of the important psychological factors in societary life.

E. S. B.

ROBINSON CRUSOE, SOCIAL ENGINEER. By HENRY E. JACKSON. Dutton, 1922, pp. x+301.

The thesis that Mr. Jackson develops is that the employer should deliberately seek to return to his employees the joyful and creative interest in work which Robinson Crusoe manifested. Modern industry is charged with alienating the worker from a natural joyfulness in achievement. The second half of the book carries the argument and scarcely requires the first as an introduction, and "Robinson Crusoe, Joyful Worker," would be a more accurate title in certain ways. The author rightly finds one of the main principles for solving the labor-capital controversy in his emphasis upon the necessity for modern business to elevate a sense of community conscience and public accountability above pecuniary profitism.

E. S. B.

CRIME: ITS CAUSE AND TREATMENT. By CLARENCE DARROW. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1922, pp. x+292.

This book is a popular discussion by a prominent criminal lawyer. He holds that crime is a natural result of heredity and environment and that it, as well as insanity, and disease, should be treated by intelligent specialists. Among several causative factors discussed is the automobile mania, which is making criminals every day. The reader of the book would be more impressed if a greater array of facts were presented as a basis for the conclusions reached.

W. C. S.

STEEL. By C. R. WALKER. Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922, pp. vii+157.

In this diary of a furnace worker, a Yale graduate describes his reactions to labor conditions when he donned second-hand clothes and worked as a clean-up man in the pit, as a third-helper on the open hearth, as a member of the stove gang, and as a hot-blast man, as one who thus acquired not only the language but "the grind and the camaraderie of the American steel-making." The conclusion which Mr. Walker correctly draws is that the steel worker and the owner of "Steel Preferred" stock are so far apart psychically, and are leading such utterly different lives, and are each so subject to an occupational psychology of his own that neither understands the other, and that peaceful progress in the steel industry cannot come until the basic causal conditions of the diverging occupational viewpoints are overcome.

E. S. B.

HOME SERVICE IN ACTION. By MARY BUELL SAYLES, New York County Chapter, American Red Cross, 1921, pp. 232.

From the case records of the Home Service Section of the New York County Chapter of the Red Cross, dealing with some 25,000 families, the writer has selected a host of samples by which the reader may judge of the whole. Six characteristics of the work may well be studied by all social agencies: (1) flexibility in treatment with a readiness to experiment; (2) consideration for the point of view of the client, and the adoption of his plans so far as possible; (3) cordial co-operation with other agencies having differing points of view; (4) insistence upon normal standards in normal and even in some abnormal families; (5) a spirit of genuine friendship between visitors and clients; and (6) the use of volunteer workers upon the same high standards as paid workers.

A. F. C.

THE POLES IN AMERICA. By PAUL FOX. George H. Doran Co., 1922, pp. 143.

In the second volume of the "New American Series," the author who is of Polish descent and pastor of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, summarizes Polish history and then describes in a sympathetic way the conditions under which Polish immigrant live in the United States, and urges an "interdenominational co-operation" plan for helping to meet the religious needs of Polish immigrants.

E. S. B.

THE SETTLEMENT HORIZON. By ROBERT A. WOODS. Russell Sage Foundation, 1922, pp. 449.

A comparison of the proportions of this current volume with those of "Social Settlements" (1898) by Professor C. R. Henderson, seems to indicate a quadrupled expansion of the subject presumably due to two factors: (1) an increasingly complex civilization and (2) the focussing of scientific thought on a world brotherhood. The broad, practical experience of the authors of this book makes no one better able to interpret settlement life than they. Even more comprehensive is this treatise than is A. C. Holden in "The Settlement Idea." "Settlement work, though predominantly localized, covers a range of active interests as wide as civilization, all of them in course of development." Such is the scope of the problem confronting the authors in this history of settlement progress. Only the dawn of the settlement era is marked by the first International Conference of Settlements, meeting in London, July 1922. "This fellowship among the like minded across national lines . . . has begun to make a definite contribution to the forces of international understanding and good will."

L. F.

PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIETY. By MORRIS GINSBERG. Dutton, 1922, pp. xvi+174.

This treatise in social psychology gives a primary place to the nature of instinct and its role in society, although the author does not attempt to commit himself to one theory to the exclusion of others. The elements in a group are analyzed as (1) similar modes of reacting, (2) common traditions, and (3) social sentiments. The chapters on "tradition" and "public opinion" are splendid but brief. The book closes with an argument for an organization of society that will increase the spirit and practice of democracy. The treatment is socio-philosophical rather than psycho-behavioristic; it is incomplete but judicial, well-balanced, and constructive.

E. S. B.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS IN AMERICA. By KENNETH D. MILLER. George H. Doran Co., 1922, pp. 192.

This book is volume one in the "Racial Studies" of the "New American Series" published "through the courtesy of the Interchurch World Movement with the co-operative aid of various denominational boards." It describes and interprets the life and culture of

Czecho-Slovak immigrants and breathes the highest type of Americanization spirit throughout. The latter part of the book is devoted to a program for bringing the Czecho-Slovaks into touch with Protestant missionary activities.

E. S. B.

**THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS OF MORMON GROUP LIFE.** By E. E. ERICKSEN. University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. x+100.

In this concrete study of the life of the Mormons, the author has made an interesting and valuable contribution to group psychology. This monograph discusses three problems: (1) the conflict between the Mormons and the Gentiles in Missouri and Illinois, (2) the maladjustment between the Mormons and nature in Utah, and (3) the conflict between "Mormon institutions and traditions on the one hand and the innovations of science and the new democratic spirit on the other." The study is centered in group sentiments, the strength of which is found in the nature and number of conflicts which the group experiences.

E. S. B.

**THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO.** By the CHICAGO COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS. University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 650.

In this study of race relations and a race riot, a first-hand picture is given of the Chicago Race Riot of July, 1919. It reveals the race prejudice of man at its worst and makes vivid Dr. George Elliott Howard's generalization that "race-prejudice is the most hateful and harmful of human sentiments." It presents a group of excellent detailed recommendations from the Commission on Race Relations, as well as many splendid photographs, maps, and charts. It is an invaluable volume of source materials on a phase of the problem of race psychology and demonstrates the value of a joint commission in working out solutions for controversial social problems.

E. S. B.

**ASPECTS OF AMERICANIZATION.** By E. H. BIERSTADT. Stewart Kidd Company, 1922, pp. 260.

The author plunges into an earnest presentation of the many types of injustices which immigrants experience in the United States. He objects to the melting-pot figure of speech because it has come to mean a crucible constructed by the native-born into which all foreign ingredients are to be thrown, and he points out that "Americanize" is an active, transitive verb, thus implying that something is to be

done to somebody by somebody else. He holds that the phrase "law and order" is dangerous unless it be made to read, "law, order, and justice." Many will consider that the author's main theme has been weakened by the zeal of the advocate, and will wish that the emphasis had been more scientific.

E. S. B.

**THE COMMUNITY CHURCH.** By ALBERT C. ZUMBRUNNEN.  
University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. v+169.

After showing how denominationalism has been a divisive religious factor in the United States and how there is a trend toward denominational unity, the author analyzes a country church according to types and activities, and shows how it functions to produce denominational unity in a given community, and how the process is also indicative of a probable method for the denominations themselves, not on basis of doctrine but of co-operation in service. The book is based on a careful survey of the community churches that are in operation in this country, and is scholarly and stimulating throughout.

**THE THREEFOLD COMMONWEALTH.** By RUDOLPH STEINER.  
New York, 1922, pp. xl+206.

In this English translation of a book which has received widespread European attention, the author urges a somewhat utopian reorganization of society, namely, economic, political, and spiritual. Property *rights* are never to be allowed to become property *wrongs*. Property is not to be owned or administered by the state, but to be taken out of the hands of persons who do not use it productively as a service to the total community, and transferred to persons who will so control it. The indefinite, general tenor of the treatise hinders a practical consideration of its social idealism.

**PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR.** By JANE ADDAMS.  
Macmillan, 1922, pp. xi+257.

In this auto-biographical history of "the efforts for peace made by a small group of women in the United States during the European War," Miss Addams discloses a keen knowledge of the psychology of war as well as of peace and shows how under the influence of a war psychology liberalism is not freedom to say what one holds to be true but what is popular, convenient, and "patriotic." The book reveals Miss Addams' sincerity and courage in being willing to be misunderstood as a result of her realization that there is a terrible antagonism between war and bread for the simple folk of the world.

## Literature Notes

'*Labor Once Lost.*' One of the greatest labor wastes in this country is that of its employment upon materials that have the shortest possible life, upon cloth that soon goes into tatters, upon roads that fall into immediate decay, upon nearly every article manufactured in quantity for the American public. Robert Hunter, *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan. 1923, 73-80.

*Characteristic Elements of the Social Studies Sociology.* The aim of social science teaching in high schools is to impart to the rising generation what knowledge of social solutions the social scientists already possess, together with the corresponding habits and ideals, with a view to rendering society telic. R. L. Tinney and E. C. Hayes, *The Historical Outlook*, Dec. 1922, 331-332.

*A City Case Worker in the Country.* There are general qualifications for all case workers, but those working in the country should have certain ones especially: adaptability; sympathetic understanding of rural life, and the ability to see the interrelation of the different factors in the development of her cases as they may react on the community as a whole. Josephine C. Brown, *The Family*, Dec. 1922, 187-193.

*A School for Public Service for Women.* The Women's Municipal League of Boston and the Massachusetts Committee of the National Civic Federation have established a School for Public Service, believing that women who want to pass civil-service examinations for sanitary inspectors, school attendance officers, and police women may learn how to do those types of work efficiently and to study them in relation to the Government and all the other activities of the community. Marjorie Shuler, *Amer. Rev. of Reviews*, Dec. 1922, 637-9.

*The Idea of Progress.* The Dark Ages cannot conceivably occur again since printed language is now the great storehouse of knowledge, and science and philosophy are widely accessible. But we venture a prophecy, namely, that the Versailles Treaty has laid the foundation for more wars in Europe in the next hundred years than ever before. Fluctuations of progress may occur as in the past, but certainly no destruction of civilization. George S. Painter, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, Nov. 1922, 257-282.



*The Educational Value of Sociology.* Sociology teaches us how to think in a scientific spirit, soberly and dispassionately, about great human interests and prepares us to take part intelligently and responsibly in community life and in large public affairs. F. H. Giddings, *The Historical Outlook*, Dec. 1922, 332-335.

*Community Organizations A Study of Its Rise and Recent Tendencies.* Community Organization is practically synonymous with the organization and co-ordination of all the social forces of a rural community, a city, a county, a state, or a nation. Jesse F. Steiner, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Nov. 1922, 11-18.

*The Measurement of Social Forces.* Social forces may be measured by two sets of correlations, namely; (1) the negative correlation of birth rate and the positive correlation of death rate with hereditary defect, and (2) the positive correlation of birth rate and the negative correlation of death rate with intelligence. F. H. Giddings, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Nov. 1922, 1-6.

*The Psychology and Pathology of Personality.* Personality is the most important single factor in group life, therefore any methods of testing traits are of value, even though rough and inaccurate, for these results give information concerning the distribution of traits and their relations to the situations which the test conditions set up. This article surveys the studies that have been made in this field. Vernon M. Cady, *Jour. of Delinquency*, Sept. 1922, 225-248.

*Family Desertion and Non-Support.* A study of court cases in Philadelphia from 1916-1920, showing a yearly average of 3921 new cases and a nanalysis of all the causes. The average percentage of home ownership among the cases is about 7 per cent as compared with between three and four times that rate for the general population of the city. S. Howard Paterson, *Jour. of Delinquency*, Sept. 1922, 249-282.

*The Functions of a Sociology Department in a State University.* Four functions of a sociology department in a state university are to be noted: (1) to provide sound, effective, well organized undergraduate instruction; (2) contribute toward the training of professional social workers within that state; (3) serve as a clearing-house of information concerning human relationships and conditions of living within that state; (4) contribute to the advancement of sociology as a science by doing genuine research work. Thomas L. Harris, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, Nov. 1922, 326-331.

*The Immigrant's Golden Fleece.* Emigrants to the United States, returning to their home countries, bring with them comparative riches, some higher standards, a desire for comforts, and often a myopic and distorted view of America, secured from a single industrial groove. Viola I. Paradise and Helen Campbell, *Harper's Magazine*, Jan. 1923, 158-170.

*The American Jail.* When a judge sentences a man to thirty days in jail, he is sentencing the prisoner to many more things than mere confinement and to deprivation from his family, occupation, and liberty; often to a putrid mire demoralizing to body, mind, and soul, where he is given every opportunity to deteriorate and his tendency to wrong-doing is not corrected but aggravated. J. F. Fishman, *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 1922, 792-805.

*The Jews in America.* In the long tragedy of Israel there is no misfortune quite so deplorable as the increasing unfriendliness of the great liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon democracies. An antagonism which Americans had believed was peculiarly European, is gaining a disquieting foothold in this country. The one prejudice which would seem to have no cause for existence in the free air of America is one that is based upon race and religion. Burton J. Hendrick, *World's Work*, Dec. 1922, 144-161.

*Sociology Applied in the Field of Health.* Doctors working in dispensaries realize that it is impossible to get prescribed treatments carried out, because of social conditions over which they and their patients have no control. It is here that social workers, who have been educated somewhat in medical science, may devise ways to help patients to help themselves, so that what they have received from medical science may be utilized. Florence Meredith, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, Nov. 1922, 319-325.

*The Social Service Department and Its Relation to an Extensive Parole System.* After the patient leaves the hospital, the social-service department becomes the sole means of contact of the hospital with the patient and here renders its most valuable assistance. In their regular visits to the homes of the patients the field workers are able to watch carefully the reaction of the patient toward his surroundings, to scrutinize the attitude of the family toward him, and to give advice as to the best method of procedure in the treatment of any difficulties that may arise. Harry A. Steckel, *Mental Hygiene*, Oct. 1922, 798-814.

## Round Table Notes

YOU CANNOT hold another man down in the gutter without remaining down in the gutter with him. Jackson, *Robinson Crusoe, Social Engineer*, p. 7.

SOCIAL JUSTICE is the justice of good institutions, as distinguished from the justice of good individuals. Finney, *Causes and Cures for the Social Unrest*, p. 22.

NOT CHANCES for a few poor boys to rise out of their class, but a chance for the whole class to rise bodily out of its status of poverty and ignorance. Finney, *Causes and Cures for the Social Unrest*, p. 114.

IT SEEMS as if little charities for newsboys or tenement babies or hospitals, prosper greatly just because they raise no embarrassing questions and leave the public with a soothing illusion that something adequate is being done. E. A. Ross, *The Social Trend*, p. 180.

Social work is the art of adjusting personal relationships, of helping to overcome the difficulties which may arise, for example, between native and foreign born, between employers and employees, between school and home. Queen, *Social Work in the Light of History*, p. 18.

THOSE WHO most insistently emphasize their evidences of superiority, who talk of their family, their possessions, their travels, who emphasize the superior correctness of their speech, thereby betray their inferiority. Williams, *Principles of Social Psychology*, p. 20.

SOCIAL CASE work is the art of doing different things for different individuals in such a way that the welfare of the individual and of society are harmonized as nearly as is humanly possible. F. D. Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States*, p. 114.

TOO OFTEN the man who should be criticising institutions expends his energy in criticising those who would reform them. What he really objects to is any disturbance of his own vested securities, comforts, and privileged powers. Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 168.

ONE WAY to divert people from fundamentals is to get them hurrahing for petty betterments. E. A. Ross, *The Social Trend*, p. 180.

A WORKMAN who gets nothing but wages is not getting enough, whatever the amount of his wages may be. Jackson, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Social Engineer*, p. 105.

AN INDUSTRIAL COURT can deal only with a contest over a detail of the problem. It does not deal with causes, but only with effects. Jackson, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Social Engineer*, p. 178.

WE DEVISE the most exquisite machinery for blowing our neighbors to pieces and then display our highest skill and organization in trying to patch together such as offer hope of being mended. Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*, p. 108.

THE PRINCIPLE around which a middle class program of arbitration and reform can be built, is strikingly simple, it is to get everybody into the middle class! Finney, *Causes and Cures for the Social Unrest*, p. 184.

RADICALISM, however unwarranted the extreme forms in which it presents itself, is entirely misconceived unless it is recognized as a symptom of social injustices. When a man has a fever it indicates that there is something wrong with his system somewhere; the thing for him to do is to diagnose the cause and remove it; otherwise it may remove him! Finney, *Causes and Cures for the Social Unrest*, p. 28.

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH, then, may be defined as the church which is the only one in a community, being composed of or seeking to admit the representatives of all the various denominations in the community into its membership; which seeks to minister to the whole life of the community and to the whole life of all the people in it, and to do so economically and efficiently. A. C. Zumbrunnen, *The Community Church*, p. 79.

IF THE COSMIC uniformity of climate continues to prevail and if the uniformity is varied by changes as stimulating as those of the past, the imagination can scarcely picture the wonders of the future. In the course of millions or even billions of years the development of mind, and perhaps of soul, may excel that of today as far as the highest known type of mentality excels the primitive plasma from which all life appears to have arisen. Ellsworth Huntington, *Climatic Changes*, p. 316.

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

THE INDEXING of the *Journal* was begun with the last issue in the International Index to Periodicals, published by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York City. This service will enhance the value of the *Journal* and will be especially appreciated by the contributors of articles.

THAT THERE is a genuine dissatisfaction with the traditional social science curriculum in the high school may be inferred from the number of periodical articles and committee reports on this subject. This also points to a developing interest and to an increasing emphasis on the sociological point of view. The books on community civics, social problems, problems of democracy, a number of which have recently appeared, also indicate the trend in this direction.

THE RECENT death of Bishop Charles D. Williams of the Episcopal diocese of Michigan is a distinct loss to the cause of social idealism and of virile religion. He lived the heroic life in attempting to get the social principles of Jesus put into modern economic and political relationships, and at the same time he maintained a superbly democratic attitude of mind for one in his position of leadership.

THE RECENT emphasis by President Harding upon enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act deserves hearty support from all socially-minded citizens. The fight for the prohibition of the use of alcoholic liquors will need to be waged for the next twenty years or more, or until a whole generation develops non-alcoholic habits. No measure of progress is safe until ingrained in the habits of the people.

THERE ARE several possible outcomes to the Franco-German situation. (1) France may succeed in permanently crippling Germany. Buffer states may be formed and the economic power of the remainder of Germany destroyed. (2) The strife may continue with secret alliances being made and a new balance of power being established. Sooner or later another general European war would break out. One English writer already makes the latter prophecy, and states that England and possibly the United States would be drawn in on the side of Germany, against an aggressive France. (3) France and Germany might see a new light and agree to co-operate instead of attempting to destroy one another. They are complementary in many ways, and barring national animosities, could render unlimited mutual services. Nationalism will probably blind the peoples and leaders of both nations alike, and eliminate this possible solution. (4) Under the leadership of the United States, Great Britain, and France, an impartial fact-finding commission of experts might determine what reparations Germany will be able to pay. Then through a world conference openly conducted, with Germany represented, the payment of the reparations could be arranged for. Germany, feeling that justice had been attempted and knowing that the organized world-opinion was behind the reparations agreement, instead of simply France whom she hates, would work in earnest in paying the reparations. Then, a series of world conferences might be held until the principle of mutual national service and of a world community spirit would be adopted by the nations represented. Those nations which demonstrate their loyalty to world welfare needs could then organize into an Association of Nations.

## RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES WITH A SOCIALIZATION TEST

By HORNELL HART

*Associate Research Professor in Sociology, Iowa Child Welfare Research Station*

THE FAILURE of mental tests to reveal attitudes, interests, emotional drives and other aspects of character and personality, and the need of tests to cover this field are emphasized with increasing frequency by psychologists. Rarely, however, is it realized that this need can be met by research in social psychology, since personality and character are conditioned by social factors. For several years the writer has been at work on tests whose primary purpose is to measure social attitudes and interests and specifically socialization. One such test, known as Form D, has been in use for several months with striking results. The nature of the test may be illustrated by showing typical reactions, by a thief and by a very highly socialized man, to one of the nine lists of stimuli which make up the test.

It will be noticed that this typical thief has designated "Christmas Cheer for the Poor" as the most important stimulus in the list, while the highly socialized man has designated "World Disarmament." Among the other four most important stimuli both men have included "Social Faith in God," "Better Housing Conditions," and "Christianization of the World," while the socialized man has picked out "Abolition of Child Labor Evils," "Application of Christian ideals to Modern Industry," and "The Spirit of Universal Brotherhood." The stimuli ignored by the two men are also significant.

The above reactions are not theoretical, but are based upon actual returns from selected groups of men. They illustrate certain outstanding contrasts between the highly socialized and relatively unsocialized man. The former, according to the findings of experiments made with this test, is internationally minded, keenly interested in economic justice, intellectual, indifferent to creeds, rather

## A HIGHLY SOCIALIZED MAN

## A THIEF

| <i>List 8</i>  |   |   | <i>List 8</i>  |   |   |
|--|---|---|--|---|---|
| Social justice for negroes.....                            | ⊕ | — | Social justice for negroes.....                            | ⊕ | — |
| More faith in God.....                                     | ⊕ | — | More faith in God.....                                     | ⊕ | — |
| Abolition of child labor evils.....                        | ⊕ | — | Abolition of child labor evils.....                        | ⊕ | — |
| Better housing conditions.....                             | ⊕ | — | Better housing conditions.....                             | ⊕ | — |
| Christianization of the world.....                         | + | — | Christianization of the world.....                         | ⊕ | — |
| Christmas cheer for the poor.....                          | ⊕ | — | Christmas cheer for the poor.....                          | ⊕ | — |
| Concentration of wealth.....                               | + | ⊖ | Concentration of wealth.....                               | + | — |
| Soviet control in industry.....                            | + | ⊖ | Soviet control in industry.....                            | + | — |
| More interest in local politics.....                       | ⊕ | — | More interest in local politics.....                       | ⊕ | — |
| Application of Christian ideals<br>to modern industry..... | ⊕ | — | Application of Christian ideals<br>to modern industry..... | ⊕ | — |
| World disarmament.....                                     | ⊕ | — | World disarmament.....                                     | + | — |
| Direct representation in congress<br>by industries.....    | + | — | Direct representation in congress<br>by industries.....    | ⊕ | — |
| Elect good school boards.....                              | ⊕ | — | Elect good school boards.....                              | ⊕ | — |
| The spirit of universal brotherhood.....                   | ⊕ | — | The spirit of universal brotherhood.....                   | ⊕ | — |
| Prohibit smoking tobacco.....                              | + | ⊖ | Prohibit smoking tobacco.....                              | + | ⊖ |
| Unionize industry.....                                     | ⊕ | — | Unionize industry.....                                     | ⊕ | — |

unconventional, and lacking in personal sentiment. The anti-social individual is sentimental, chauvinistic, and un-intellectual, and evinces strong interest in creeds and conventions. Upon this contrast the following hypothesis is based:

Socialization and social progress depend upon the sublimation of social emotions into intellectual assimilation of group interests.

Numbers of fascinating lines of research suggest themselves as possible uses of this sort of test. First there is the verification or disproof of the above hypothesis, by



getting as many leaders of social progress, and as many anti-social individuals as possible to take the test, and contrasting their reactions. If the hypothesis is sound, the whole prevailing program of inculcating love of country, sympathy and other rudimentary forms of social emotion may quite possibly be found to be working in directions opposite to those intended.

The use of the test as a means of determining the success of various methods of promoting character and good citizenship is closely allied to the above conception. We have standardized scales for measuring progress in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and other branches of learning; we need reliable measures of progress in the characteristics supposed to be produced by courses in civics, social problems and other social sciences.

Detection and preventive treatment of pre-delinquents is another promising field for this type of test. Intelligence tests are not adequate for such purposes, for intelligent children quite often become delinquent. The reactions to these tests, of delinquent and non-delinquent individuals of equal intelligence are, however, quite distinctive, and may be used for diagnostic purposes.

In commercial work the test is already being used by at least one large department store as a means of determining the trustworthiness, energy, and general social attitudes of applicants for employment. It is found that the test is very useful in avoiding the employment of dishonest, lazy, and unstable employees.

An alluring field of research which has not yet been explored with the test lies around the question whether the attitudes and interests of successfully married couples and of close friends are more closely similar than those of unhappily married persons and of enemies. It seems probable that the test may be used to throw light upon the problem of incompatibility of temperament.

A number of investigations with Form D are already under way and will soon be reported. The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station is about to publish a study discussing the reactions to this test of certain men selected as "leaders of social progress" in comparison with the reactions of certain other selected groups of men. Other forms of the test are also being experimented with, and will probably be published at an early date.



ON FEBRUARY 28, Dr. William E. Burghardt Du Bois delivered an address in Los Angeles on "The Future of the Colored Races." The generally accepted position is that the colored races must either continue to occupy a position of inferiority or be crushed. A third possibility that the colored races might rise above their present position is not to be considered, for the white man is ruling a considerable portion of the world at present and that is ample proof of his superiority. The spread of the white man's power, however, has been due in large measure to the cheap goods which he has produced and marketed everywhere to the discomfiture of the native artisan. Even though the western culture is lauded to the skies by the white man, it has its serious defects. It pretends to be Christian, yet in many ways it is morally weak. Western civilization, in its mad rush to produce cheap goods, has had no time for the beautiful. The recent technical development has been little short of the marvellous, but the results have been used by the white men for killing each other off. They have feared the rise of the colored races, yet they have been committing suicide themselves. Some white men think that they must, out of pity for the colored races, lead them to something better. But the future of the colored races will depend largely upon themselves; they must think that they themselves are men and must act accordingly. The colored peoples should not be denied the privileges of education and culture, but each group should be permitted to develop and make its contribution.

## THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY

By MANUEL C. ELMER

*University of Minnesota*

ABOUT three years ago a machinist whose specialty was gas engines, decided that it was a most opportune time for him to enter another line of work. "There is no future in this line for me," he said. "Everything has been done." Not over a month ago a man who had spent several years in the fields of social work and investigation of group activities said to me, "There is nothing more to be done in the field of the social survey. The technique and methods are now standardized. Everyone recognizes and understands the value and the methods of carrying on social surveys." The two statements were similar. The machinist and the social worker had been similarly convinced of the need for a certain detail of mechanism. One dealing with the construction of gas engines, the other with certain details of investigation. Neither of them recognized the great principles of which the detail in which they were interested was only a small part. However, the standardization of certain principles of engine construction, and the standardization of certain principles of diagnosing a community, required the toilsome labor of large numbers of routine machinists and of social workers in making a large number of "group case records," a task which was more or less monotonous.

During the past ten years the social survey has come to be recognized as the most feasible method for securing exact and unbiased facts. We do not mean to convey the impression that the social survey is a product of the past ten years. At least since Aristotle attempted to analyze

groups by a classification of their political activities, men have tried to collect data and analyze the results in order to discover principles underlying human activities. Neither do we wish to imply that it was only during the past decade that the basic principles underlying the purpose and methods of social surveys were recognized. What actually occurred was that during the past decade practical social workers as well as sociologists and social surveyors, have come to a general agreement that certain facts which are necessary for the understanding and analysis of group activities can best be obtained by an unbiased and impartial collection and classification of such facts, in short by following the "group case method." Thus a most important step has been taken.

The point reached in the development of the social survey may be likened to the adoption of the Arabic notation. Leonardo of Pisa published his great work, the *Liber Abaci*, in 1202. He was the first great mathematician to advocate the adoption of the "Arabic Notation,"<sup>1</sup> yet his efforts left no great imprint on his age, and it was at least three centuries before much more than a discussion of the philosophy of mathematics was carried on in the European Universities. The point we have reached in social surveys is likewise merely the general acceptance of a few of the "symbols" to be used in making a scientific investigation, thus enabling us to compare results. With the general acceptance of the methodology and the technique of social surveys we are at the beginning of a period in which much should be done to make sociology truly scientific. We may now begin to do that which all scientific social surveyors have long wished to do,—and which persons who were not scientific accused them of not doing,—namely, correlate and analyze the data accumulated, interpret group action, and thereby discover the laws which underlie group activ-

<sup>1</sup>"*A History of Mathematics*," Cajori, p. 129.

ities. This could not be done, until the data secured were proven to be typical, dependable and representative of classes of types, although it was recognized as being the ultimate purpose.<sup>2</sup>

It was necessary, however, to establish the scope and nature of the data to be considered. Early attempts to study social activities frequently led to erroneous results because the resulting conditions and the effects were assumed to be the basic phenomena, and the hypotheses built there on, were regarded as a law for the proof of which, the proud "discoverer" proceeded to seek supporting data. Much of this data had been accumulated by individuals outside of the field of sociology. Some of it was the result of careful and scientific effort; some of it was merely uncritical opinion and some definitely biased and unsound.

When sociologists and social workers first entered upon the work of investigation it was not with the purpose in mind of securing scientific data which would serve to prove or disprove their various social theories; neither was it for the purpose of building up a great body of scientific data. There were instead, conditions within the group to which their attention had been called because of certain factors which appeared to be out of harmony with the existing principles of social ethics or social economy. Most of the investigations were for the purpose of disclosing certain bad situations and of securing information. This gave rise to a great flood of survey reports. Almost every city of any considerable size had a "survey" of some kind or other. Vice surveys, poverty surveys, unemployment surveys, poolroom surveys, crime surveys, sanitary surveys, milk surveys, infant mortality surveys; in fact surveys of

<sup>2</sup>"The object of the social survey should be not merely to gather all the facts pertaining to the social life of the community; but far more to correlate these facts and to make progress toward the discovery of the underlying causes by which they are moulded and their effects upon each other." Elmer, "*Social Surveys of Urban Communities*," 1914.

almost every possible phase of social life were made. Persons who had some pet hobby, which they wished to see introduced proceeded to select some situation which may or may not have had any relation to their hobby,—but which they felt should have investigation at once in order to “show it up,” and thus offer them an opportunity to proclaim their particular hobby as the panacea.

During the first ten years of the twentieth century this unscientific type of social survey came to be very widespread, and served as the groundwork for “sensational disclosures,” “muck raking” and feature stories. This tendency to deal with morbid situations in a sensational and unscientific manner, had certain very definite results. On the one hand, the general public began to hesitate before encouraging anyone to investigate their community, and to demand something more than a sensational disclosure of their weaknesses and short-comings. On the other hand, this mass of data, some of which was very indifferent and general, disclosed the fact that there were certain types of data which could be successfully compiled, and which had value in outlining community programs; but on the other hand there were certain types of information which had no value, or could not be properly interpreted when collected, because of the bias given it by the investigator or because of the source of the information secured.<sup>3</sup> The fact that there were certain social phenomena which could be compared and studied has long been recognized by individual sociologists and other social scientists. But this period of extensive “social surveying” served as a period of experimentation when these facts became generally recognized alike by sociologists, social workers, and laymen.

The period beginning about 1910 and continuing up to the present time disclosed a new attitude regarding the social survey. It gradually outgrew the tendency to become

<sup>3</sup>Giddings, *“Inductive Sociology,”* 1901.

the machinery for disclosing something undesirable and assumed a definitely constructive form. The flood of social surveys continued but partook of the nature of program surveys.

The purpose back of them was more often that of outlining a constructive program for the community, rather than mere destructive criticism. The change in point of view may be illustrated by the very manner in which the questions were asked in schedules used. The earlier period used questions like the following: "Is the community suffering from questionable political conditions?" "Is the local government inefficient owing to antiquated methods?" Starting the inquiry with questions of this type at once disclosed the biased attitude of the investigation. In the period covered by the past decade, the following are typical of the approach: "Is the community ready for a careful consideration of its local problem or problems to be covered by the survey?" "In what way are the schools, the churches, the press and the local organizations being prepared for a civic revival that may result from the revelation of a survey?"<sup>4</sup>

These program surveys took the form of religious surveys, educational surveys, industrial surveys, community surveys, housing surveys, city planning surveys, with specialized phases of each. The purpose, however, always being constructive and the nature of the survey assuming the general character of an inventory, or a "group case study;" the data being recorded in an impartial manner and the study undertaken without any preconceived ideas as to what the results should disclose. An important fact soon appeared evident in a study of these various investigations. Whenever a group was studied, there was a tendency more and more to include the same type of data and to touch upon the same aspects of human life and attendant condi-

<sup>4</sup>Aronovici, "The Social Survey," p. 13, 1916.

tions. Even in such specialized studies as "church surveys," "industrial surveys," or "health surveys" practically the same material was included in the general study with only a little more detail regarding the specific phase of community life which the surveyor aimed to make the objective of the inquiry. This has gradually led to the recognition of the fact that there is a very high degree of interrelation between social phenomena, and that before scientific study can be made, we must know all the general social conditions and activities as a whole. This second mass of group case studies then standardized the type of data which could be secured and tabulated for classification, and, emphasized the need for a rather comprehensive study of all conditions and activities in order to get the proper setting of a specific problem.

Scientific methods and technology are often laborious. When the field is new, and there is wide interest in its problems and the demand for general information is great, there is a tendency to become a generalizer on very insufficient data. Thus in social survey work, there was the temptation at first to go into a certain field, pick up some general impressions, get a few vivid examples (call them sampling), draw conclusions and make generalizations. If the investigator happened to be thoroughly acquainted with the general problem under consideration, and likewise acquainted with the results of studies in related fields, his conclusions and generalizations often had some value. If this was not the case, the results were valueless. As the number of surveys began to accumulate, it was possible to compare results and methods of procedure, and soon a definite technique grew up combining those things which the different surveyors had found to be successful and worth doing. Methods of classifying data, selection of items to be considered, tabulating and verifying results were aided by the experience of investigators in other sciences. The



interpretation of results, the classification and correlation of social activities were aided by the work of the social theorists and social psychologists. This developed a recognition of the need of a sound social theory, and developed a recognition of the interdependence of social theory and social investigation,—thus helping to put social investigation and social surveys on a sounder and more scientific basis, which should react favorably upon social theory as well.

The past ten years of social survey work have pretty definitely established certain methods and principles. 1. The impartial and unbiased approach to a problem is now recognized as necessary if the results obtained are to be of value, and “surveys” which are not made with such a point of view are becoming fewer each year.

2. The kind of data which can be classified and compared has become standardized. Observations which are based on the observer’s personal reactions and which cannot be used for comparative purposes,—especially when the observations are made by persons having different points of view.

3. The technique of collecting this measurable data, and of classifying it has been quite generally standardized.

4. The social investigator and surveyor and the social theorist are in closest accord; thus aiding each other and each keeping the other from going too far afield.

5. The social survey has been generally accepted as the scientific method to be followed for securing reliable data. In other words, the “group case method” must be used in studying group activities.

6. We are now at the very beginning of development in the field of social investigation. We have learned the value and the method of using the most simple tools. We can now proceed to work out methods of analysis of social phenomena in a scientific manner, although thus far very

little has been done in the scientific interpretation of social data.

The next step in the standardization of methods of correlating the data obtained from a study of social phenomena, in order to show not only the totals of more or less unassociated facts, but the comparative value, or the part played in group activity by certain measurable activities. This could not be done until the basic and measurable data were obtained in a scientific manner. It was because this basic step was not recognized that "behavioristic surveys" thus far have not had much value. Such studies have been dependent for their data upon internal observation or introspection which is of little value because of the inability of the subject to analyze his own reactions. Hence, there arises the necessity for developing a further technique in order to secure the desired results from measurable and comparable data.



THE TWENTIETH amendment to the Constitution is, or soon will be, on its way to ratification. Since the Constitution as it now stands has been interpreted by the Supreme Court as not preventing children from being exploited and robbed in industry of the normal opportunities of youth, by selfish employers, it becomes necessary to amend the Constitution once more, this time giving to Congress the power to limit or prohibit the labor for wages of children and youth to eighteen years of age. In 1872 the Prohibition party favored child labor legislation; in 1892, the Democratic party joined the ranks; in 1912, the Progressives, and in 1918, the Republicans finally spoke for the children.

# MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AND THE ACCULTURATION OF BACKWARD PEOPLES

By WILLIAM C. SMITH

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What light may an analysis of the processes of social and personal disorganization and re-organization in a primitive group through contact with a group on a higher cultural level throw upon our policy of educational and missionary activities among the backward peoples in general? Will it be possible in the future to avoid many mistakes of the past? Have the ethnologists and sociologists sufficient data upon which to base the formulation of mechanisms for controlling the processes of social change so that in the experience itself, the backward group may not be made to deteriorate during a period of transition, if not indeed be made degenerate as has been true in certain instances in the past? The literature treating of the backward people is replete with instances where the process has taken place. Limitations of space forbid the citation of the many typical examples.

The writer was privileged to spend a period of time as a resident in the Naga Hills district of northeast India which is inhabited by a group of backward tribes. A better acquaintance was made with the Ao Nagas, and they will be mentioned throughout the discussion. On the basis of this first-hand information, supplemented by a wide reading of literature relative to other backward groups, the writer is offering some suggestions in reply to the queries set forth in the preceding paragraph.

A consideration of our problem calls to mind certain theories with which students of social evolution are famil-

iar. Several writers, notably Wundt<sup>1</sup>, Morgan<sup>2</sup>, and Grosse<sup>3</sup>, have developed elaborate systems of the various cultural stages through which all human groups have passed or must pass in their progress toward a high level of civilization. "Progress," writes Morgan,<sup>4</sup> "has been found to be substantially the same in kind in tribes and nations inhabiting different and even disconnected continents." He adds further that where, in similar situations, there are particular instances of deviation from uniformity they are produced by special causes.

The writer spent some time in trying to fit the Ao Nagas into this unilateral scheme of development, but the tribe was obstinate and refused to conform. On paper these schemes look good, but they do not square up with the facts. It may be possible that some groups have passed through these stages in regular order, but that is no proof that all have done so or will do so. If they had done so it would be necessary to assume that conditions all over the world were monotonously uniform; but the facts are otherwise. Several isolated groups are cut off from the stimulus that comes from contact with outside groups and consequently they are retarded. Then by some fortuitous circumstance or through some invention this group may be so electrified that it will jump over several of the stages which should have been taken in conforming to the logical system. Most assuredly Japan has made greater progress during the past half century than the system of Morgan would permit. With the rapid development that has been made in Australia during the last few decades, it is not at all inconceivable that the backward tribes in the interior may accelerate their social development and skip several of the stages in the logical system. It would not be beyond the range of possibility for some change to

<sup>1</sup>*Elements of Folk Psychology.*

<sup>2</sup>*Ancient Society.*

<sup>3</sup>*Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft.*

<sup>4</sup>*Ancient Society*, 18.

come about which would cause the Naga tribes to move forward at an accelerated pace.

It has been held that all peoples pass through the same stages in religion. Actual facts, however, do not support this contention. Buddhism, brought into Japan from Korea, has made adaptations to the situation and has accommodated itself to Shintoism. Imported from India, Buddhism has been grafted on animism in Burma. Among the Indonesian groups of Assam and Burma there are discernible no stages which follow one another in regular succession. According to the census reports they are classified as animists. On the Assamese side of the watershed some of them are becoming Hinduized. The Manipuris have become Hinduized as well as the Plains Miris.<sup>5</sup>

According to the American Baptist Missionary Society's report for 1921 there are among the Ao Nagas 3,685 members of Christian churches, while, to the writer's knowledge, there are no Hindus in the tribe. On the Burmese side of the watershed these groups have been influenced by Buddhism and not by Hinduism. The Shans have largely added Buddhism to an animistic base,<sup>6</sup> while among the Karens, Christianity is making great inroads.

Professor Franz Boas has considered this problem at some length and has come to the conclusion that "serious objections may be made against the assumption of the occurrence of a general sequence of cultural stages among all races of man."<sup>7</sup>

If civilization actually developed in such a mechanical fashion, we would necessarily have to conclude that either the missionary effort being expended upon the groups of mankind which are on the lower cultural levels is utterly wasted or else the methods used are hopelessly wrong. The missionaries who deal with the animistic groups are not

<sup>5</sup>*Assam Census of 1881*, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup>Cochrane, *The Shans*, 150-189.

<sup>7</sup>*The Mind of Primitive Man*, 193.

trying to lead these people through any regular series of religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and finally Christianity, but they are winning adherents to Christianity without any intermediate steps.

The superintendent of Census Operations in Assam in treating of the spread of Christianity states that "success is usually obtained amongst the animistic tribes who have not yet felt the attraction of Hinduism."<sup>8</sup>

If all mankind had to pass through the same sequence, then the missionaries would have to wait for all to pass through the various stages, and all that they could do would be to produce certain stimulations that each stage might be abbreviated to some degree.

It is possible to move more rapidly, but there is grave danger that occidental impatience may force the growth too rapidly. "We who are white men," remarks Kingsley,<sup>9</sup> "admire our work not a little, which is natural, and many are found willing to wear out their souls in efforts to convert the thirteenth century into the nineteenth in a score of years." Such forced growth cannot produce the most satisfactory results. "Sudden transformations," writes Wallis,<sup>10</sup> "usually mean the rapid death and disappearance of the people themselves as well as of their culture. Such has been the history . . . wherever civilization has done its work rapidly. . . . If . . . we look at the tribes of Eskimo extending from Greenland through the whole of North America westward to the shores of Siberia, we find that, with scarcely an exception, where no outside influence has been felt they retain their pristine vigor; while wherever the white man has had much to do with them, whether trader or missionary, there they have deteriorated." "The missionary, then," notes Wallis,<sup>11</sup> "may well be on his

<sup>8</sup>*Census of India, 1911, Vol. III, Assam, Part I, Report, p. 37.*

<sup>9</sup>*West African Studies, 379.*

<sup>10</sup>*American Journal of Theology, XIX, 271.*

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid., 269.*

guard in introducing the goods of civilization, lest he introduce at the same time some phases which are not good for the savage but so evil and destructive as to leave him not even his own life."

Peoples on the lower cultural levels change slowly. They have minute regulations governing all their conduct and no variation from this code is countenanced. Since they are devoted to magic as over against science, the central idea which dominates their lives and thought is permanence or order, and all attempts at innovation tend to be placed under the ban. The individual within the group who proposes any change is a dangerous person and is brought to task for overstepping the prescribed boundaries. The group, however, is more charitable toward innovations which are brought by the outsider, while at the same time the group does not feel responsible for his variations. If one of their own number develops non-conformist tendencies he might bring calamity upon the entire group. The infiltration of new ideas comes largely through the agency of the market place, which is a place of neutrality.<sup>12</sup>

In this neutral zone representatives from different groups meet to exchange wares. This trading proves to be mutually advantageous and consequently they come to be more hospitable toward each other and toward each other's ideas. On the whole, however, the social environment in which they exist is quite barren and destitute of stimulations so there can be but little cross fertilization of ideas, and changes necessarily come quite slowly.

An analysis of the changes which have taken place among the Ao Nagas indicates not only that the process has not been one of adherence to some logical or cosmic pattern, as Morgan supposed, neither has it been a matter of crowding into a single generation the achievements which have only come after many centuries of effort on

<sup>12</sup>Grierson, *The Silent Trade*, 58.

the part of civilized groups in the occident. Rather a far different process would seem to be the fact.

Every human being has a considerable variety of wishes. This great variety of concrete wishes, according to Thomas,<sup>13</sup> falls into four types of classes: "(1) the desire for new experience; (2) the desire for security; (3) the desire for recognition; (4) the desire for response."

These various wishes of the individual are clamoring for fulfillment but the group regulates the expression of the wishes of its members. "The organization of society makes possible the gratification of the individual's wishes, and even the multiplication of them, but at the same time it requires that his wishes shall be gratified only in *usual* ways, so that their expression shall be so regulated as not to interfere unfairly with the expression of the wishes of others."<sup>14</sup>

If any sudden change comes in this social organization, the norms which control the individual become disturbed and he becomes disorganized. He becomes uncertain in his behavior. He does not know in what manner he may be permitted to seek gratification for his wishes.

An analysis of the data on the Ao Nagas, that have been collected by the writer, shows that there has been a change in the means for satisfying the four primary or fundamental wishes. This substitution of means has been partly accomplished by force, as in the case of the change in political control with all of its implications, partly by suggestion and imitation, due to the influence of commerce, education and the introduction of Christianity. In some instances the changes have been abrupt, while in others they have been gradual. In certain cases the means substituted have been of a higher order, while in others there has been a distinct decline in quality. In addition to the

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, 489; also Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, Introduction to Vols. I and III.

<sup>14</sup>Park and Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, 26.



change in the opportunities for fulfillment, which have in a certain sense been due to external influence, the group has more or less deliberately set up new definitions according to which individuals must guide their behavior.

Even though the Ao Nagas may be characterized as conservative and slow in making changes, yet the desire for new experience found expression in the head-hunting forays. In the old days this was no doubt, the most important instrumentality for its satisfaction. Since the head-hunting has been stopped they have begun to satisfy the desire in other ways. They are eager to make use of guns, are turning to cigarettes and are adopting other material elements of a more advanced culture. They are developing a fondness for litigation and carry all sorts of trivial matters to the Political Officer for settlement. A number of them also find the desired excitement in the religious gatherings which have come with the introduction of Christianity. Most assuredly the Christians of one village experienced something novel when they built a meeting house in the middle of a main thoroughfare and thus aroused the animosity of the non-Christians. From an acquaintance with this particular group it would appear that when the usual avenues for obtaining satisfaction are barred, an outlet is found in some other direction.

The desire for security bulks large in the life of the group. They carry out elaborate religious ceremonies to avoid calamities and to insure abundant crops. During the dry season they hang the skulls of cows and *mithan* in the trees within the village confines or on the walls of the houses to serve as fire-prevention devices. In days gone by they expended much energy in building defenses against their enemies; they located the villages on high hills or ridges where they would be more secure against attack, and they lived in large villages because a small village could not defend itself against the incursions of the more power-

ful ones. Now that they are living under the British flag, they need pay no attention to protection against raids and are left free to devote more time to the production of food supplies to immure themselves against famine and hunger, and thus they can feel more secure.

The desire for recognition is an important factor in the life of this tribe. A rich man may alter the shape of his house by building on an addition, on the express condition that he serves his fellow villagers by spreading several feasts for them. Under certain conditions he may erect some forked posts in his dooryard and erect some carvings on the front gable of the house. Certain men may also wear sections of elephant tusks on their arms. Among the women the privilege of wearing some distinctive stripes on their blankets is granted after the husbands have given the requisite number of feasts to the village. When the young man risked his life in order to bring home a human head, the group recognized his manly courage by decorating him with a necklace made of wild boar's tusks. Since the stoppage of head-hunting this decoration has been given to the man who would give a feast to the old warriors of the village. The recognition which came to the successful warrior was the highest honor which the group could bestow upon him, and the young men now consider it a great blow that they may not distinguish themselves on the war path. All these things were done in order to secure distinction in the eyes of the public. Through the instrumentality of recognition the group exerts a tremendous control over the individual.

The desire for response is a craving for a more intimate relationship with certain persons instead of a recognition on the part of the public. This intimate relationship is found in the family. All the Ao Nagas marry to have families. A man is anxious to have children about him and if his wife does not bear offspring then he is justified

in leaving her and taking another. The *sib* organization and the harvesting activities of groups of relatives or intimate friends give opportunity for the preferential appreciation of others. When a man is taken sick in a distant village he will hasten home to be with the members of his immediate family, for he cannot bear the thought of having to die among strangers.

In any group, when the usual channels for satisfying the four fundamental wishes are choked, new ways of satisfaction must be provided. "In China," writes Ross,<sup>15</sup> "as opium smoking declines, sport comes in with a rush and thousands of Chinese make long journeys by train in order to attend the national meets." When the United States government set its hand against head-taking among the Igorot of the Philippines, baseball was introduced as a wholesome substitute. When the British government stopped the practice of head-taking, the Nagas had to satisfy their craving for new experience in some other way, and it has actually led to a lowering of the moral tone of the group in certain ways. Some new device for satisfaction on a higher plane should have been provided. In the Mission School at Impur, the boys play rugby and the scoring of a goal is beginning, in a small measure, to bring the satisfaction which formerly could be found only by bringing home a human head. When head-taking was discontinued among the Nagas and the young men could no longer gain the privilege of wearing the coveted boar's tusk necklace, they felt that they had been deprived of all too much. Some new avenue should have been developed for satisfying the desire for recognition.

Badges of distinction are given to individuals by groups, both savage and civilized, for a variety of useful activities or attainments. In British India a native who acquires an education is accorded some honor by the group and is

<sup>15</sup>*Principles of Sociology*, 615.

addressed as *babu*; after the emancipation of the slaves in the United States a Negro who could read was permitted to wear a long coat and was addressed by the honorific term of "professor"; and at the present time it is a common practice for American universities to grant honorary degrees to persons who have performed distinguished social service. The group has in its hands a powerful weapon in that it can control the individuals through the bestowal of recognition and honors.

Any activity on behalf of a group on a low cultural level must reckon with the four fundamental wishes of human beings. Any missionary propaganda which blindly ignores these fundamental wishes is in danger of producing disorganization of the group and thereby negating the beneficial results which would otherwise be produced. It is necessary to recognize the fundamental wishes of the individual as well as the social organization which provides for the expression of the wishes. If the individual is indoctrinated with western theology and is removed from his former environment in order to make sure of his salvation,<sup>16</sup> then he is removed from his group and has no social organization in which to find the fulfillment of his wishes. "The best of our missionaries," writes Wallis,<sup>17</sup> "are becoming aware of the bad results of such misdirected zeal when applied without proper insight into the life they seek to transform, and are urging an accommodation to the vital needs of the people." The problem is a matter of social control or how the group can direct and control its members along socially approved lines so that the degenerating process of disorganization may not gain a foothold. The process by which this may be accomplished is that of a redefinition of the means provided by the group for the

<sup>16</sup>In the early days it was a common practice for the Christian converts to live near the bungalow of the missionary. They would thus be out of touch with their group.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 272.

satisfaction of the four primary or fundamental wishes. The old idea of individual salvation will not make the necessary provision; the group and its social organization must be taken into consideration. The outlook is not a gloomy one. "In the light of experience," says Ross,<sup>18</sup> "it does not seem rash to anticipate that bullfight and cockfight, opium debauch and vinous 'spree,' every ghoulish orgy of religious fanaticism and every obscene or bloody rite in Asiatic temples, may be displaced in a generation or two by ball games and track meets, folk-dancing and symbolic pageants, if only in public supervised recreation centers all the children are bred to merry and wholesome plays."

Even though its adherents be numerically few, Christianity has exerted a considerable influence over the Ao Nagas through the disorganization of their traditional forms and the bringing about of new re-alignments. But it is seriously to be questioned if these changes, beneficial though they may be, have been brought about as efficiently as they might have been. It might also be added that the changes have not been as great as they might have been.

Familiarity with missionary attitudes and practices, which are all too characteristic, makes inevitable the conclusion that there is entirely too much negation, too much taboo, and too little that is positive. There is grave danger that Christianity, as presented to these people, comes to be little more than the adoption of another set of taboos, and taboo is no new element in the life of any group on a low cultural level. Under the old system the Nagas had to refrain from working in the fields on certain days, lest their god Lizaba curse the village with an epidemic or blight the rice crop; now they must refrain from work on the Christian Sabbath, lest Jehovah, the God of Israel, smite them for their wickedness. It would appear that the

<sup>18</sup>*Op. cit.*, 615.

results of research of the ethnologists and sociologists could be used to great advantage in directing the course of development of the backward groups of mankind in an orderly manner and thus avoid the baneful influences which have worked such havoc in so many instances. The Christian missionary occupies a unique position in relation to these groups in that he devotes himself whole-heartedly to their advancement, and his supporters in the civilized communities are interested in increasing his efficiency. Quite recently a poster was displayed in a church bearing these words: "One missionary plus one Ford equals three missionaries." If a mechanical contrivance can thus increase the usefulness of a missionary, may we not expect an even higher percentage of efficiency if he adopts some of the principles which have been formulated by the ethnologists and sociologists?



OUR LONDON correspondent writes: "As far as the external appearances go, London seems quite a gay city, as lively and as prosperous as New York. But in visiting friends I learn that behind the gaiety is hidden untold suffering of the people consequent upon the heavy sacrifices of the war. By careful observation I can see how poorly most people are dressed and how simple and unluxurious are their modes of living. Only "drinks" are plentiful and men, women and even children drink heavily as if trying to obtain momentary freedom from the intolerable burdens of existence."

THE ORGANIZATION of the "Veterans of the World War" is an interesting development. These inter-allied soldiers have a platform of several important points, chief of which is that as conditions permit, all the nations of the world shall "entirely disarm land, sea, and air forces, and destroy the implements of warfare." They also ask that all international agreements be openly announced, that territorial aggrandizement on the part of all nations be stopped and that an international court for the settling of international disputes be established and given full power.

# SOCIOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION IN

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EVERYONE CONVERSANT with the situation knows that the above phrase expresses the idea of a few individuals but not a fact of educational practice or even a theory with any considerable following among educators in the past: not, provided sociology be taken in its strict sense as the body of social principles which began to come together near the beginning of the twentieth century and largely by the work of these five men: Lester F. Ward, Albion W. Small, F. H. Giddings, E. A. Ross, and C. H. Cooley.<sup>2</sup> Education in the United States could therefore be founded on sociology only by taking its chief characteristics from these five men, either directly from their own writings or indirectly from their pupils.<sup>3</sup>

But an event occurred at Chicago on the evening of December 28, 1922, which was, in the writer's opinion, the most concerted effort ever made to put education on a sociological foundation. That particular event was the meeting of the American Sociological Society, in a session held in the banquet room of the Auditorium Hotel and devoted to the above topic. The room was crowded and

<sup>1</sup>Taken from the topic of the educational sociology section at the meeting of the American Sociological Society in Chicago in December, 1922.

<sup>2</sup>It is easy to find flaws in this list. Mention might also be demanded for Blackmar, Ellwood, Dealey, Gillin, Hayes, Gillette, Howard, Bogardus, and others. But if it be allowed that there was soon after the year 1900 a body of American sociological theory then these five names must stand in a class by themselves.

<sup>3</sup>It may be admitted that there is also a broader meaning of sociology, such, for example, as it has in the Dewey system of cataloguing books, but that is not assumed to be the meaning here.

most of those present seemed to be teachers. The program as printed was as follows:

Foundations of Education in Sociology. In charge of DAVID SNEDDEN, Professor of Educational Sociology, Columbia University.

"Sociology, a Basic Science to Education." DAVID SNEDDEN.

"Some Practical Applications of Sociology to Education." C. C. CERTAIN, Director of Language Education, Detroit Public Schools.

"Sociological Bases of Education for Culture." CHARLES C. PETERS, Professor of Educational Sociology, Ohio Wesleyan University.

"School Controls as Training for the Larger Social Control." WALTER R. SMITH, Professor of Educational Sociology, University of Kansas.

Mr. Certain described the various groups and strata which exist in the school population, using the language of sociology—a performance which the writer had never heard before from any one not a professional sociologist. Dr. Snedden did not read his paper, saying that it could be read in full in the *Publications* of the Society; instead he spoke extemporaneously, after the other three, of the part of sociology in determining the curriculum of the school, and then threw the meeting open to impromptu discussion. The paper by Professor Peters was attacked as undemocratic: "What people want to learn in school is something by which they can make a living." But he came back with the reply that true culture includes making a living. Professor Smith elaborated slightly in reading his paper on discipline and received close attention, and in the discussion which followed he held his ground well, being aided by his sense of humor.

The discussion which followed was lively, prolonging the meeting to nearly three hours. At one time half a dozen men were on their feet at once desiring to speak. When a few started to leave the room the chairman inquired, "Shall we close now?" "No, go on!" came back from the audience. So he said, "If you have to go, go!



If you want to stay, stay!" and this announcement he repeated half an hour later. But the bulk of the audience stayed to the end.

What is the meaning of this meeting? (1) First of all, as it seems to this particular observer, the mere logic of the relation between education and sociology is finding recognition. Education, without limitation, is too broad a term to use in this connection, for some education is not social. But *teaching is always and everywhere a social process*. Learning, so far as it goes on in school, is mostly a social process. *The school is a social institution. Sociology is the science of social processes and institutions. Therefore the scientific basis of teaching and the school must be found in sociology*. Seeing this conclusion more or less clearly, the educators are ready to listen to the sociologists even though the latter do seem to be "up in the air." That audience in the Auditorium Hotel was ready to give close attention for three hours while sociological concepts and terms were being used to analyze the situations which confront a teacher.

(2) *There has been a rapid growth of educational sociology*. In 1908 Professor Suzzallo began to give a course by that name in Teachers College, Columbia University. Since then at least three others have appeared. How many courses in educational sociology are now being given in the universities, colleges, and normal schools is not known, because there has been no recent count of which the writer is aware. In 1914 Professor Gillette found that fourteen universities and colleges out of the seventy-six reporting had such a course. The committee on sociology in normal schools, gathering its latest data in 1917, found only eight schools out of one hundred and forty-six with such a course. It is known that many additions have since been made to these numbers. At least two of the Universities, Harvard and Chicago, do not have courses

by that title, and there has been protest against its acceptance in some other cases. But whether the name is ultimately to settle into unquestioned usage or not, its present vogue is an evidence of the help which education is seeking from sociology.

(3) *Other social vocations than teaching are looking toward sociology for guidance.* At the same time and in the same building with that meeting of the Sociological Society there was a meeting of the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work. Sociology is one of the studies in their curricula. The university schools of social work are closely allied with the departments of sociology; in at least two cases the head of the department of sociology is also the head of the school of social work. In fact away back in the infancy of sociology, a quarter of a century or more, those sociologists who sought practical work of some kind often found it in some form of social work. The late C. R. Henderson, of the University of Chicago, is typical of such. Then there is the labor problem which is as much sociological as it is economic. John Graham Brooks is typical of the sociologists who have made a life study of that subject, for thirty-two years ago he was the one man on the faculty of Harvard University who would be classified today as a sociologist. Then there is church work. Brooks' successor at Harvard was Edward Cummings who began the teaching of sociological theory there but later became a clergyman and took a pastorate. Sociology is now in the curricula of the more progressive of the theological seminaries. This paragraph might be extended to include law, politics, journalism, commerce, and still other vocations.

(4) *Sociology, the pure science, is getting into better shape to be applied practically.* At the Richmond meeting of the American Sociological Society, held in 1918, one of the papers voiced the need for a clearer formulation of

principles. Since then a thorough study has been made and published by Joseph T. Williams, of Drury College, of the educational ideas of six recent American sociologists. The largest single improvement has been the publication in 1920 of Ross's *Principles of Sociology*. In this book each principle is formally stated as such: sometimes it is even given as a maxim to be observed under certain conditions. Park and Burgess' *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, published in 1921, is also a noteworthy contribution. There is still needed, however, a clear summary of what sociology is which can pass into common use and about which the thought of intelligent persons who are not sociologists can crystallize.

Practical application of sociology, whether in teaching or other social vocations, may be expected to react upon the pure science by assisting it to find itself. That Chicago meeting may, therefore, be regarded as a foreshadowing of greater attention to sociological theory in the near future, and also of wider application of that theory as a guide to all forms of social life.



THE NOTE recently sent by the Brazilian government to the governments of Argentina and Chile suggesting that representatives of the three meet to discuss disarmament and to agree upon some plan "to prevent an increase of military budgets," while temporarily parried by Argentina, while perhaps put forward at a time when Brazil has a slight military advantage over her neighbors, and while indicative of serious national rivalries in South America, nevertheless represents another step, even though a short one, toward the day when all the nations of the world can agree upon limitation of armaments if not on disarmament.

# A STUDY OF PARENTAL INADEQUACY

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THIS STUDY has developed out of the experiences of the writer as as assistant supervisor of attendance in the Los Angeles City Schools.<sup>1</sup> She has had charge of a district on the East Side, composed mostly of immigrants and where the problems are many and complex. Many of the immigrants in this district have come seeking religious and civic freedom and are loath to observe laws not of their own making. There are, however, many native born people in the district who are employed at skilled and unskilled labor.

One section of the district is a newly populated one, where lots are cheap and persons can become landowners by paying ten dollars down. This fact has attracted many undesirable people; and the living conditions, moreover, are very unsatisfactory for rearing children. Many families are living in tents; the writer has called on people living in a piano box with a few blankets pinned up around it. Many families, consisting of father, mother, and three or four children, cook, eat, and sleep in one room with no partition whatever to give privacy.

The writer has handled about six hundred cases of girls who have been considered problems. Out of this number the first fifty cases in which home disturbances were clearly evident, are reported upon in this study of parental inadequacy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>As a member of the Staff of the Department of Compulsory Education and Child Welfare, under the direction of Dr. E. J. Lickley.

<sup>2</sup>F. H. Giddings has defined sociology as a study of *human adequacy*. (*Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, 1922, ch. xvi.) This survey aims to throw light on methods of securing *parental adequacy* as a phase of the larger subject of human adequacy.

Table I discloses a part of the inadequacy status of the families and shows that 26 per cent of the homes studied have no father and 24 per cent have no mother. In either case the oldest girl is forced to assume parental responsibility. In the instance of the father's death, it follows that the mother must become the wage-earner and the child is

TABLE I

|                                  | <i>No.</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------------------|------------|----------------|
| Father dead.....                 | 13         | 26             |
| Mother dead.....                 | 12         | 24             |
| Mother and father dead.....      | 5          | 10             |
| Mother and father separated..... | 6          | 12             |
| Language barrier.....            | 3          | 6              |
| Incorrigible child.....          | 3          | 10             |
| Miscellaneous .....              | 6          | 12             |
|                                  | <hr/>      | <hr/>          |
| TOTAL                            | 50         | 100            |

left to assume the mother's responsibilities in the home or to become the wage-earner. Another important fact is that the child is usually left without proper supervision. If a girl has no mother the father is seldom able to meet the problems which confront him regarding his daughter. If the father is dead and the mother has to work the girl is also left without supervision. When the father and mother are separated the situation is somewhat similar, for the child has only one parent and must assume some parental responsibility for the younger members of the family.

The Americanized child in the home of foreign-born parents brings about a strained relation in the home. The parents are unable to cope with the child's problems because these are brought about by modern American living conditions and the parents can often comprehend only "old country" ideas. Most of the foreigners represented in

this study are of a low cultural type. As the child is brought up in the American schools she soon finds herself living in two different atmospheres, that of her home and that of the school. Most of the foreign children are quick to adopt the American customs and styles because they wish to appear like native-born children.

TABLE II

## RACES

|               | <i>No.</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|---------------|------------|----------------|
| American----- | 20         | 40             |
| Mexican-----  | 14         | 28             |
| Russian-----  | 4          | 8              |
| Jewish-----   | 4          | 8              |
| Negro-----    | 3          | 6              |
| Armenian----- | 2          | 4              |
| Chinese-----  | 1          | 2              |
| French-----   | 1          | 2              |
| Italian-----  | 1          | 2              |
|               | <hr/>      | <hr/>          |
| TOTAL         | 50         | 100            |

The incorrigible child is one whose parents admit their failure in trying to control her. It is often the duty of an attendance officer to assist the mother in making a plan for the child whereby the mother may again gain control. A case may be cited of a girl whose mother had been in the hospital for eight years, during the time when the child needed her the most. The mother was of foreign birth and speaks little English. The child had been a disciplinary case ever since she entered school and had finally been suspended. She was mentally retarded just enough not to realize the dangers which may befall a girl of thirteen who stays out alone at night and repeatedly disobeys her parents. The child was much larger than her mother and was her own "boss." The school department was able to

assist the mother by placing the child in a school where she would have constant supervision by one capable of handling her.

It is a common fault of many Americans to blame all the crime and maladjustments upon the foreigners in this country. Table II shows that in a district composed mostly of foreign people, forty per cent of the maladjusted homes are those of American people. Although the native-born are themselves not a race, they are considered as such here to enable comparison with other races. The race having the next highest percentage of home disturbances is the Mexican, who, in this district, represent a low type and whose standard of morality is undeveloped. Common law marriage is prevalent. The men are sometimes immoral and many a little girl of twelve or fourteen years of age has been their victims. The Mexican families are usually large and the oldest girl frequently has to work or help care for the rest of the family. The Mexican girls mature physically much more rapidly than the American girl, but mentally they develop slowly. As a result, it is extremely difficult to keep Mexican girls between thirteen and sixteen in school. It is a simple matter for them to misrepresent their ages and hence many of them who are under age work until they can be located by the school department. However, the writer has met several Mexican fathers who have become very much concerned over their daughters and have showed appreciation of, and cooperation with, the efforts of the school in behalf of their children.

The Russians populate two distinct sections of the district. They do not send their children to school regularly for various reasons. In the first place, in the old country allegiance to the family and home was of primary importance. Individual welfare meant little in the face of loyalty to the family. There were no compulsory education laws in the old country and when they migrated to America

they settled down to do as they had been accustomed to do in Russia. If there was a big family washing to be done there was no question as to whether or not the child should go to school or do the washing—the washing was done. Another social factor which hinders the Russian girls from attending school regularly, is the fact that Russian families are usually very large and the mother is overburdened with work. She feels that she must keep the oldest girl out of school at least once or twice a week to help in the home. This race is not, however, without its creditable qualities. Their morality and family loyalty are both high; they are a hard working people. The girls seem to develop physically early in life and all too soon they feel out of place at school. The parents are often more opposed to the school law than the children, and keep the children out of school on slight pretexts.

There is a colony of Armenians who live huddled together in a very small area of the district. The greatest difficulty which the school department has with them is in trying to make the un-Americanized parents understand the American customs. Here again is a language barrier between parents and children which proves unfortunate. It is hard to keep the young girls in school because they become "boy struck" at an early age. Workers among the Armenian people say that single Armenian women are at a premium in America because they are so scarce. This makes it necessary for young girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age to marry men much older than themselves.

The Department of Compulsory Education and Child Welfare is doing a very constructive work as it has the opportunity of reaching the child before the other social agencies do. When a girl starts playing truant from school she is subjecting herself to many temptations, but if she is followed up immediately by an attendance officer, of-



tentimes she is returned to school before she gets into trouble. It does not take more than one or two visits to the home for a trained social worker to understand the conditions. The girl is usually a habitual truant before she takes any further steps downward. Seventy-two per cent of the fifty cases handled were adjusted outside of the Juvenile Court. The school department hesitates a long time before filing a petition against a girl and never does so until every other resource has been exhausted. Society as a whole has a very skeptical attitude toward the girl with a court record and is usually very reluctant to take her back again after she has been through the court. To those who know the methods used in the Juvenile Court, it is needless to say that it is the greatest stepping stone toward giving the girl a new attitude toward life and starting her in the right direction. It is with this in mind that the school department has felt the need and has asked the assistance of the court in solving some of its girl problems. Practically every girl who has been under the jurisdiction of the court has been made a better, stronger girl. In a number of cases the mothers have been unable to supervise their girls sufficiently and had it not been for the constant supervision of the probation officer, they would have been at the bottom of the downward path.

Table III discloses reasons for absences from school. In twelve instances it was discovered that the child was kept out to work (outside the home). This was practically always the result of a death in the family or of extreme poverty, and is perhaps the most important cause for absence from school. Disagreement in the home and wilful truancy stand next in importance. When there is friction in the home the child loses interest in the home and in her school work. She usually seeks comfort and pleasure in the material things of life and thus starts out on a dangerous trail. Another result of friction is an

early marriage on the part of the child. "Anything to get away from the home"—is her slogan. Wilful truants are usually the girls who are too lazy to get to school or who defy their parents and the school authorities because they do not want to go to school.

TABLE III  
PRIMARY REASONS FOR ABSENCE FROM SCHOOL

|   | <i>No.</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|---|------------|----------------|
| Kept out to work (outside the home)---            | 12         | 24             |
| Disagreement in home-----                         | 10         | 20             |
| Wilful truants -----                              | 10         | 20             |
| Kept out to care for home or children---          | 8          | 16             |
| Incorrigible at school-----                       | 5          | 10             |
| Investigation made for other than<br>truancy----- | 4          | 8              |
| Illness-----                                      | 1          | 2              |
|   | <hr/>      | <hr/>          |
| TOTAL   | 50         | 100            |

A death in the family or extreme poverty sometimes results in the child having to care for the home or children while one or both parents go out to work. In order to meet this situation the schools have installed nurseries where the babies can be cared for while the children are in school. Schools in the poorer sections of the city are equipped with such nurseries, which are filled all the time.

Incorrigibility in school is not infrequent. Such cases are oftentimes handed over to the attendance officer as he has the power to carry the case into court if necessary.

Table IV shows significant facts. The steady increase in the number of cases from ten to fifteen years of age shows that the problem cases involving parental inadequacy lie with the adolescent girl. There are several reasons for this. First and most important is that adolescence brings to the girl an entirely new set of experiences and

thoughts. Her mind leaves her school books and dwells on her appearance, on romance, and on having a good time. These thoughts are perfectly natural ones for the adolescent girl, but if they are not curbed they are likely to send the child in the wrong direction. In the second place, the adolescent girl is often the oldest girl still at home. The others have married and departed. Thus it oftentimes befalls her either to go out to work, or to "keep the home fires burning" while one or the other parent works. Another factor which has already been mentioned is the rapid physical development of the girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen years of age. This makes them feel unhappy at school, especially if they are mentally retarded and in a grade with smaller children.

TABLE IV

## AGES

| <i>Age</i>    | <i>No.</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|---------------|------------|----------------|
| 8 years-----  | 1          | 2              |
| 9 years-----  | 0          | 0              |
| 10 years----- | 5          | 10             |
| 11 years----- | 2          | 4              |
| 12 years----- | 7          | 14             |
| 13 years----- | 9          | 18             |
| 14 years----- | 11         | 22             |
| 15 years----- | 15         | 30             |
|               | <hr/>      | <hr/>          |
| TOTAL         | 50         | 100            |

## CONCLUSIONS

The fifty cases studied show that the broken down condition was in only one instance due to one factor alone. This case was a most extraordinary one and should bear little weight in the conclusions. It is therefore consistent to say that practically every case showed a number of factors which aided in breaking up the home.

There were usually both objective and subjective evidences of inadequate home conditions present in the majority of homes considered. The objective evidences were generally obvious but the subjective evidences always seemed to be present. In a great number of instances the subjective causes, which are difficult to determine, appeared to have brought about the objective evidences. Some evidences were more prominent than others. Death, chronic poverty, real or alleged, and shiftless, inefficient parents seem to be the most important factors in causing the maladjusted homes.

Any state of broken down condition in the home works a hardship on the children. The oldest minor is usually the one to suffer most because of the responsibility which is thrust upon her. First, she is deprived of her rightful educational opportunities either by prolonged absence or chronic truancy. Second, she is made a wage earner at a very early age, thus depriving her of her childhood; or, third, she is forced to mother the younger children when she herself is in desperate need of a mother. Fourth, she is deprived of supervision and guidance during the period in which she is rapidly developing physically, mentally, and morally. The wholesome impulses of life which a girl should cherish and hold precious are oftentimes poisoned because, at their early stage of development they are misused. This is one of the most disastrous results of an abnormal home.

In a district composed mostly of immigrants, forty per cent of the cases were of the native-born people. The immigrants are more excusable than are the native-born for living in maladjusted homes because they have had many barriers to overcome which the native Americans do not have. It would seem therefore that it behooves the American people to criticize the immigrant less and to improve their own social conditions more.

## WOMEN IN CONFERENCE ON INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By LUCILE EAVES

*Director, Research Department, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston*

RECENTLY 326 delegates from 40 states—representatives of 99 National organizations—met in Washington for a “Women’s Industrial Conference”.<sup>1</sup> The discussions of this gathering were of peculiar interest to sociologists, as they afforded an opportunity to study in process of realization the readjustments in the economic relations of women which have been expected to result from their rapid gains in educational opportunities and political influence. If the present plan of holding these conferences each year is carried out, there will be fascinating opportunities to follow the interplay of conflicting ideas, and to study the reasons for the emergence of certain beliefs or policies as dominating forces in new syntheses which will take place from time to time as leaders of differing backgrounds and points of view and new social and economic conditions give emphasis to varying aspects of the needs of women employed in American industries.

Miss Mary Anderson, who had the chief responsibility for planning the Conference, won the right to represent working women through her own experiences as a wage-earner and through her position of leadership in the Women’s Trade Union League. Former associates in Trade Union organizations contributed a large part of the program of her first Conference. This group was represented not only by the women who had struggled up from the ranks of the wage-earners, but also by leaders from social settlements who had mothered the organizations of

<sup>1</sup>January 11-13, 1923

wage-earning women during their period of infancy. These representatives of groups of working women organized for their own protection gave occasional glimpses of the satisfaction with which they viewed their past achievements, but devoted themselves chiefly to impersonal presentations of the wrongs which remain to be righted with the assistance of the great army of women who might be reached through the Conference delegates. "We are not theorists," exclaimed Mrs. Raymond Robins, "we know that we cannot feed and clothe and house the children,—we cannot take them out of the factories into the schools,—we cannot warm our homes *on theories*. *We are realists*. We are weary of the haggling, the debates, the theories of the masters of the world in the face of suffering and cold and hunger. . . . At each election we intend to test the party in power by the facts of our human welfare. These simple, understandable facts will, I believe, be the determining factor in the vote of women."

Women supervisors or personnel officials of factories supplied a somewhat smaller share of the program than the speakers who have been active in organizations of wage-earning women, but they may make contributions of great value to future conferences. The rapid increase of this group of industrial executives during the last decade is one of the most encouraging tendencies of American economic development. A combination of the energy, inventiveness and organizing ability of American men, with the intelligent, humanitarian sympathies of the highly-trained American women, ought to make possible substantial progress towards a more satisfactory balancing of the opposing interests of industrial life. Women in daily contact with the necessity of production under sound economic conditions learn the difficulties which must be met by employers as well as the hardships suffered by employees. Sentimentality and extravagant demands for concessions ill

adapted to the realities of the industrial situation are superseded by patient and intelligent efforts to discover and remedy the causes of inefficiency and social maladjustments among the workers, and to understand the complex factors which must be successfully combined in order to make possible the survival or enlargement of the industrial establishments which they serve. Thus Miss Mary Gilson, who describes so delightfully her activities as Superintendent of the Employment and Service Department of the Joseph & Feiss Company, finds it necessary not only to develop ways of guaranteeing opportunities for promotion to persons who demonstrate their ability to direct with justice and efficiency the work of the factory, but also to discover and remedy bad home conditions which undermine the incentives for effort in excessive fatigue.

Conditions in American political life make it probable that the most gifted and highly trained women rarely will be enlisted or retained in government service, but the contributions to this Conference made by Dr. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Miss Mary Van Kleeck are typical of the services which such women may render. They, like Dr. R. A. Spaeth, the public health expert from Johns Hopkins University, bring the results of scholarly research for the guidance of leaders in closer touch with the masses of women whose organizations may command the respect of vote-seeking politicians. Less highly trained women often have boundless enthusiasm and long experience in the arts of enlisting the interest and co-operation of the rank and file of the organizations in which they frequently have held office, but they are lacking in breadth of view or capacity for constructive statesmanship. A woman who, at a moment's notice, can unravel the intricacies of our complex jurisprudence, or one who can add to the impassioned protests of interested or sympathetic groups, the breadth of view and sound constructive planning which

may result from long experience in the scientific investigation of industrial conditions, are indispensable to the success of these industrial conferences. By such assistance they may become milestones in a well-planned advance instead of degenerating into opportunities for futile protests about economic oppression or for airing the unsound theories of noisy factions.

Mr. Charles Cheney, representing the National Association of Manufacturers, presented an interpretation of "What Women Workers Mean to Industry," which aroused no enthusiasm but which never should be lost from the view of such a Conference. He stated bluntly, "Women mean to industry a supply of labor. . . . Men and women are not employed just because they are men or women but because for some of these reasons . . . it is advantageous to have them." He reminded the Conference that an employer's interpretation of the phrase, "Equal pay for work of equal value," may give a complex content to the word "value." Frequently it is influenced by length and regularity of service, versatility of industrial capacity, ability to dispense with assistance or to enter fully into the organized activities of the industrial plant, and willingness to accept discipline without resentment. It was inevitable that some of the bright women of the Conference should retaliate by pointing out the general disposition to make sex rather than individual classifications when supplying these tests of economic value.

A general desire for *the continuation and enlargement of the policy of special protective legislation* for both women and children was evident in the arguments of the speakers and the responses of the delegates. These women, many of whom are in immediate contact with the realities of our industrial life, were emphatic in the declaration that, whatever the possibilities of the future, present conditions demand the enactment and enforcement of laws which shall



limit the hours of work of women and establish minimum standards of just compensation. A mathematical turn was given to the discussion by the report of calculations which proved that, at the rate of progress by voluntary effort found in some states, over a century would pass before changes would be accomplished which are now necessary to satisfy the public sense of fair play and sound social policy.

The most potent arguments in support of this demand for special protective legislation were based on *the dangers to the family* which may result from the industrial employment of women. Then Dr. Spaeth pointed out that, whatever the degree of physical perfection attained by women, the exercise of the maternal functions inevitably must prove the handicap in industrial employment. His suggestion for the adoption of a task system in industry, the demands for shorter hours of work, for release from work on Saturday and for a period of rest before and after childbirth, all aimed primarily at the protection of mothers who are forced to seek gainful employment. The scathing condemnations of "sweated" or home work were also based on its tendency to destroy wholesome family life.

The Conference afforded an opportunity for *enlisting support for pending legislation*. Thus the efforts to obtain a Constitutional amendment which will make impossible future judicial annulment of laws expressing the desire of an overwhelming majority to give the children of the nation opportunities for the physical and mental development desirable for good citizenship, were reported by Miss Grace Abbott and Senator Medill McCormick. The present status of the controversy over the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law was fully explained to delegates who were anxious about its effect on the minimum wage laws now doing good work in a number of states. Delegates to the Conference realized that the

battle is only half won when the laws are put on the statute books. They want better representation among officials charged with their enforcement.

The consumers of the products of industry, whose sympathy and voting strength must give force to the demands for the enactment and enforcement of protective legislation, were represented not only by the veteran leader of the Consumers' League, Mrs. Florence Kelley, but also by a large group from the Federated Women's Clubs. In the last analysis the chief aims of such a Conference are *the enlightenment about conditions in industry, the giving of explanations about what is desired by wage-earning women, and the arousing of sympathetic co-operation* in this larger group whose voting power may make possible the legislative and administrative measures desired.

Thus we see reflected in the deliberations of this Conference the varied forces which are determining the conditions under which eight and a half million industrial workers are making their contributions to the economic life of the United States. It is this struggle to create and appropriate the things necessary for wholesome daily living and vigorous racial survival which engrosses the major portion of human energy and intelligence, and the influence of the conditions under which the struggle is carried on permeates every phase of social and political life. At such a conference the sociologist may see real human history—the history of the struggle for a fuller realization by the masses of the possibilities of human life—in the making. The complex balancing of conflicting ideals, the sources and influence of personal leadership, the processes by which new conceptions of social justice find expression, are unrolled in a magnificent moving picture of human progress.

## MAN'S MARGIN OF UNIQUENESS

By EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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While persons are far more alike than different, it is their differences which make them interesting and which constitute their margins of uniqueness. It has been estimated that the population of the earth could be multiplied forty times its present size before there would be the probability of the exact duplication of the fingerprints of any two persons. There may be mental differences equally astounding. Social reactions of human beings to similar stimuli are often diverse beyond measure, and specific behavior traits are remarkably unique.

The bases of this uniqueness are found in part in differences in heredity.<sup>1</sup> Because of the potential combinations of germplasm it is impossible for children even of the same parents to have the same hereditary start. Even twins vary widely, and so-called identical twins manifest inherited variations.

The origins of uniqueness are also found in the differences in human experiences and in the *number, variety, and quality of social contacts*.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible for two persons to have identical experiences, the same social contacts, and the same stimuli all the time or even most of the time. In parental reactions even to twins, for example, of the non-identical type, there are glaring variations in treatment. The sweet-tempered twin is at an advantage

<sup>1</sup>See S. J. Holmes, *The Trend of the Race*, (Harcourt, Brace: 1921) ch. V; H. E. Walter, *Genetics*, (Macmillan, 1921) ch. III; Popenoe and Johnson, *Applied Eugenics* (Macmillan, 1920), chs. III-V.

<sup>2</sup>See Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), ch. V; I. Edman, *Human Traits and their Significance* (Houghton, Mifflin, 1918), ch. IX.

over the fretful one, especially when the parents are themselves tired and ill-humored. Neither are so-called identical twins treated alike by parents, despite the desire of the latter to do so. One of the two receives attention prior to the other, and at least under slightly differing circumstances of sympathy, love, and fatigue.

The mental reactions of parents to children varying two, five, or ten years in age are diverse. When a child reaches the ten year age limit, his parents are older than when his older brother or sister was ten, and hence their viewpoints of life have changed, causing them unconsciously to respond differently to the needs of the younger child than to the same needs of the older one when he was at the ten year mark. Thus variation in treatment naturally produces different reactions on the part of the two children, and figures in the uniqueness of the personality of each.

But if parental treatment of children varies greatly, how much different also is play life and environment, the school life and environment, and other daily experiences of children—especially if they belong to different families, if they live in different parts of a city, or of the nation, if they are members of different races with dissimilar traditions and cultures. In consequence the developmental experiences of one person are at many points unlike those of every other person. Man's margin of uniqueness is thus partly the natural result of the wide range of possibilities in inheritance, in the unlimited variation in environmental stimuli, and in the incalculable interplay between all these factors.

In addition to these two bases of marginal uniqueness, another is found in man's personality itself, or in the product of hereditary and environmental interaction. In concentrating his attention painstakingly and persistently in some primary direction, man can master all that is known

along that line and fit himself to make new contributions to civilization. To the extent that he thus focalizes his psychic energy<sup>3</sup> he may magnify his uniqueness among men. And if this focalization leads to its natural culmination in invention and leadership, then his uniqueness may become a matter of public recognition and even of historical record.

He who does something that no one else has achieved, who builds a new university, writes a new social law, creates a socially useful poem, gives her days in self sacrifice to training her children into coming useful citizens, or contributes his life to furthering the community spirit in his locality, has demonstrated his or her uniqueness. He who by concentrated effort reaches the point where he knows more about one thing than anyone else or who can do one thing that no one else can do is unique, and *ipso facto* a potential leader. He who leads in defying evil in politics, business, education, or religion is thereby unique.

Marginal uniqueness, if coupled with common sense, sound knowledge, and a social attitude, is basic to leadership. It is often the chief element in inscrutableness, a characteristic of leadership. When we say, of a leader that we do not see "how he does it," we are usually but unwittingly referring to his marginal uniqueness, a trait which gives everyone a natural leadership advantage.

Marginal uniqueness is the essence of individuality. Personality consists not only of reactions which are similar the world over, or sociality; but also, of reactions that are different, or individuality. Uniqueness of inherited traits combined with uniqueness of experience spells individuality. Thus every person builds up a point of view which is distinctly his own, which sets him off from his fellows, and which is the essence of originality.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>L. F. Ward, *Pure Sociology*, (Macmillan, 1914), p. 36.

<sup>4</sup>See the chapters by the writer on "Invention and Leadership" in his *Essentials of Social Psychology*, (Univ. of Southern California Press, 1920).

Vocational guidance partially depends upon discovering the individual's margin of variation. When we describe a person as a round peg in a square hole, or as having missed his calling, we mean that he has ignored his margin of uniqueness. This margin gives every person a field of activity and development in which no one can compete with him. A cross section of it discloses what one can do that others cannot. In this non-competitive phase of personality there is unlimited room for self-expression, invention, and leadership.

Every normal individual,<sup>5</sup> therefore, may be considered as possessing potential leadership qualities. Inasmuch, however, as others are also unique, every person is also under obligation to follow. Widespread uniqueness thus is not contradictory to widespread followership. A full recognition of the principle of marginal uniqueness would make one a leader in certain particulars and multiply his followership obligations in many other directions. With leadership and followership both multiplied in this way, democracy would make an immeasurable advance.

Uniqueness is not used here necessarily in the sense of genius. The genius, being one for whom nature and God have concentrated certain of his potentialities in the form, for example, of an artistic "gift," is a shining example of man's margin of uniqueness. In fact, the genius has attracted so much attention to his uniqueness that the quality is erroneously conceived as being withheld from all normal people. The principle of man's margin of uniqueness, however, applies vitally and widely to the common man whose inherited "variations," while not so spectacular as the mutations which the genius may represent in part, are sufficient in the interplay with complex social environments to produce exceptional results.

Marginal uniqueness is in no sense contrary to the idea

<sup>5</sup>Above the moron type in mentality.

of group priority.<sup>6</sup> The group as existing prior to any individual colors his uniqueness but does not destroy it or wholly determine it. Groups themselves have unique characteristics and they tend to diversify as well as to standardize uniqueness.

Margins of uniqueness enrich democracy. It is in them that the hope of democracy may be found. The masses are not a common herd, all alike and drab in mental color, but are possessed of margins of uniqueness with surprising possibilities of contributing to group advance. By educating the people, their margins of uniqueness will become dynamic, social interactions will be characterized by many new stimuli, and group life will become colorful with unnumbered distinct hues of endeavor. Education will give a premium value to the margins of uniqueness of all the people and render democracy perhaps a thousand fold more dynamic than any other form of social control.

It is in marginal uniqueness that the chief sources of social stimuli are found. People do not stimulate each other by their likenesses so much as by their unlikenesses. Take away the margins of uniqueness and life will degenerate and progress die. Multiply and expand and enrich marginal uniqueness, and human life will throb with new vigor and power. But this giant of power will need to be harnessed by socialization, which however is another theme.

<sup>6</sup>"The Principle of Group Priority," by E. S. Bogardus, *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VII; 84-87.

## Book Notes

**NON-VIOLENT COERCION.** By CLARENCE M. CASE, University of Iowa. Century Co., 1923, pp. 423.

An important scientific contribution has been made to social psychology by Dr. Case. As the author states, there are three ways of resisting aggression and of accomplishing social ends, namely, persuasion, non-violent coercion, and violence. The second method, commonly known as passive resistance, is traced from its earliest historical beginnings in the teachings of Confucius, Buddha, the Stoics, Jesus, the Anabaptists, Mennonites, Quakers. Special attention is given to conscientious objectors, the strike, the industrial boycott, the nationalistic boycott, the Gandhi movement in India.

Throughout the book the author maintains sound historical, scientific, psychological, and sociological viewpoints. His analyses are keen and impartial; they throw new and significant light on the problems of social control. Non-violence is dogged by two mortal enemies, declares Professor Case, either to ebb away through discouragement and apathy, or to flare forth into self-destructive violence. The social importance of non-violent coercion "for the future is hard to estimate," because of implied cross currents, paradoxes, and uncertainties.

E. S. B.

**HUMAN EFFICIENCY AND LEVELS OF INTELLIGENCE.**

By H. H. GODDARD, Director, Bureau of Juvenile Research, Ohio. Princeton University Press, 1922, pp. vii+128.

The author in direct, simple style presents a theory of mental levels based on intelligence testing, which will be widely accepted. He does not make clear, however, that intelligence testing of an individual at the age of ten, fifteen, or thirty, distinguishes between inherited ability and the degree of social and mental training which the individual has received. He unduly subordinates feeling and emotion responses, social attitude responses, and activity responses to "intelligence" as it is determined by tests, and arrives at a system of education that would put the mass of helpless youth at the mercy of the few "intelligent," who are "superior" because of their ability to pass intelligence tests whether they have moral and social idealism, or not.



**SOCIAL CHANGE.** By W. F. OGBURN, Columbia University. B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1922, pp. viii+365.

Professor Ogburn deals with such questions as these: the nature of social changes, why these occur, why certain conditions resist change. He develops a theory of material versus adaptive culture, showing how a material change such as a material invention is not met readily by appropriate adjustments in social organizations and customs, and consequently there is a never-ending need for social adjustments. The theory that material culture changes faster than adaptive culture and thus causes social problems is vitally important, but carries the implication that the material phases of life are primary in significance. The author makes an unusually worthy point in indicating that one of the most effective checks against errors is "an examination of the sources of one's prejudices;" and again, when he shows how it is not necessary to attempt to change culture as a whole, for by making the proper minor changes the larger ones may naturally follow.

E. S. B.

**THE GOLDEN BOUGH.** By J. G. FRAZER, Trinity College, Cambridge. Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xiv+752.

It is amazing how successful the author has been in packing the main phases of the earlier twelve-volume edition of this theme into one handy book. The new one-volume edition is a distinct boon to the many students of primitive life. In this standard discussion of the origins of superstition, magic, taboo, folklore, animistic religion, the author has drawn a multitude of facts together from all primitive peoples in all parts of the world; has illustrated an excellent method of scholarship; and has made a fundamental contribution to anthropology and folklore.

E. S. B.

**MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LEGISLATION IN SWEDEN.** By J. THORSTEN SELLIN. Minneapolis, 1922, pp. 148.

This survey shows that the old marriage code was loaded down with antiquated provisions. After several years of agitation a commission was appointed in 1909 to revise this law. After a thorough study a new law was passed in 1915 with a supplement in 1920 on the legal status of the wife. Under the old law the husband was the master but the new law is based on the conception of marriage as a "union between two free individuals with mutual duties to respect each other's needs and desires."

W. C. S.

THE FARMER AND HIS COMMUNITY. By DWIGHT SANDERSON, Professor of Rural Social Organization, Cornell University. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922, pp. viii+254.

A clear and readable statement of the place of the community in rural life. The language is untechnical yet the ideas are so accurately expressed that the book is made valuable to both the academic student and the practical worker. While, "it is not designed as a handbook for community organization," to use the words of the author, and hence "the problems and methods of community organization are discussed but incidentally," yet its chapters contain much data of practical suggestiveness to rural leaders. The author has succeeded admirably in his chief aim, namely "to establish a point of view with regard to the rural community as an essential unit for rural social organization;" and he has also produced a book that will be read by the rural people themselves. C. E. R.

A STUDY OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. By C. C. BRIGHAM, Princeton University. Princeton University Press, 1923, pp. xxv+210.

Part I contains in seventy-one pages an unusually lucid statement of the nature and operation of army alpha and beta tests. Part II presents many tables and graphs based on the results of the army tests and develops the hypothesis that American intelligence is decreasing and that immigrant intelligence, especially of the non-Nordic races, is so low as to justify the exclusion of such immigrants. The hypothesis is not established, for the proof is wanting that "intelligence" as shown by the tests gets at *inherited* mental possibilities alone. These tests really measure the results of the stimulations arising out of social contacts and educational opportunities and lack of opportunities, as well as native intelligence.

JUDGING HUMAN CHARACTER. By H. L. HOLLINGWORTH, Barnard College. D. Appleton & Company, 1922, pp. xiii+268.

This book represents a move in the right direction and reports a series of character studies. It answers questions such as how far is character and worth revealed in photographs, by the personal interview, by handwriting, by letters of application, by testimonials. It stresses the importance of diagnosing temperament, moral, and social traits. The style is simple, and the method scientific.

THE MORALS OF THE MOVIE. By E. P. OBERHOLTZER, Ph. D.  
The Penn Publishing Co., Philadelphia, 1922, pp. 251.

The author believes in motion pictures but is anxious to save them from their glaring and deep-seated evils. His experience of six years as a member of the Pennsylvania State Board of Censors has given him an unusually sane and balanced viewpoint. He analyzes the evils of the movie in clear and fearless terms and speaks words of wisdom which if followed by the motion picture promoters would enable them "to clean their own houses" without paying a Hays a fabulous salary. The employment of a Postmaster General is done partly to satisfy an aroused public sentiment and partly to gain the support of large political interests. The degenerative tendencies of a potentially fine social agency are illustrated by the movie's selling out to sexual and melodrama portrayals, and at the expense of children's morals and adults' attitudes to life. A sane censorship is needed to save this colossus among industries. The author is constructively wholesome and socially sound in his recommendations which if not heeded by the industry will be put sooner or later into effect by an aroused public opinion.

E. S. B.

THE KANSAS COURT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. By  
J. H. BOWERS. A. C. McClurg & Co., 1922, pp. 133.

As a protagonist and yet with a strong desire to be fair-minded, Dr. Bowers offers a clear-cut description of the much talked about Kansas Industrial Court. The aim of the Court is manifestly just, namely, that of making the welfare of the public superior to the selfish will of either labor or capital; but the justice of its technique is not equally clear, namely, that of depriving the labor unionist of his "right to strike" without depriving the employer of his equally significant "right to discharge." The Court represents a movement toward a monopoly of power rather than toward a democratic dissemination of it.

IRRIGATION AND RELIGION. By EDMUND DE and MARY V.  
BRUNNER. George H. Doran and Company, 1922, pp. 127.

In this survey of religious and social conditions in Stanislaus and Orange Counties of California, the authors have secured essential facts and presented them clearly, as bases for the development of new socio-religious activities. The illustrations are valuable additions.

THE POPULATION OF THE VALLEY OF TEOTIHUACAN:  
*Introduction, Synthesis and Conclusions.* By MANUEL GAMIO,  
Director of Anthropology, *Talleres Graficos de la Nación*,  
Mexico, 1922, pp. xcvi.

This is in the nature of a digest of three large volumes. The object of this work has been to secure complete data regarding the physical, material, intellectual, cultural and economic conditions of the valley of Teotihuacan during the pre-hispanic, colonial and present-day periods, and then, on the basis of these facts, to suggest feasible and adequate means for improvement along physical, intellectual, social and economic lines. This document brings together a great fund of information about a certain area in Mexico and also shows some of the improvements actually put into operation through the efforts of the department of anthropology. W. C. S.

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION MOVEMENT IN THE  
UNITED STATES. By FRANK D. WATSON, Haverford Col-  
lege. Macmillan Co., 1922, pp. x+560.

This volume constitutes a scholarly, historical study in American philanthropy, which in its field becomes at once a standard authority. The historical phases are preceded by an analysis of "functions," "principles," and "methods" and followed by a discussion of "tests of efficiency" "prejudices." The book closes with a chapter on the philosophy of Charity Organization. The author sees social case work as a permanent phenomenon, destined to grow in importance and furnish bases for making public opinion intelligent regarding social problems, for building programs of social reform and for creating a renovated social theory. E. S. B.

SOCIALISM AND CHARACTER. By HENRY STURT, University  
of Wales. E. P. Dutton and Company, 1922, pp. 214.

The author skillfully describes the improved character status that would exist under socialism, but does not succeed in showing *how* character changes would take place, and how the worthy indirect effects of a new social organization could make over human nature before the quick-moving selfish phases of present human nature would capture and use to its own ends the new social organization for which so much is promised. E. S. B.

CIVIC EDUCATION. By DAVID SNEDDEN. World Book Company, 1922, pp. vii+333.

Dr. Snedden contributes another analytical investigation of the problems of social education in his latest book. As the title indicates, the central theme is devoted to that type of education which is designed to meet the needs for more and better citizenship training. The author states that the volume has been prepared for those teachers who are curious, inquisitive, inventive, and progressive. Those qualities are indeed necessary for those who would derive benefit from it since the text stimulates the cognitive processes to the utmost. Teachers will find most valuable the contributions contained in the chapter discussing the means and methods of civic education. There is a wealth of material here which considerably enhances the value of the whole book.

M. J. V.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. vi+522.

Among the more important articles in this storehouse of the experiences of social workers are: "Changing Fundamentals of Social Work" (Kelso), "The Family as a Factor in Social Evolution" (Todd), "The Place of the Local Community in Organized Society" (Lindeman), "The Effect of Modern Industry on Community Life" (Burns), "The Juvenile Court as a Constructive Social Agency" (Lundberg), "Racial Diversities and Social Progress" (Drachsler), "Standards for Teachers in Case Work" (Thurston), and "Development of International Case Work" (Hurlbutt). The volume maintains the standards of its predecessors throughout its 108 signed articles.

E. S. B.

PUBLIC RELIEF OF SICKNESS. By GERALD MORGAN. Macmillan, 1922, pp. 195.

The author shows that in the United States voluntary insurance is entirely inadequate for the masses and even many members of the middle classes. He advocates modified compulsory health insurance together with the establishment of health centers managed by officially appointed boards of directors and offering medical benefits of many varieties. The plan is to be commended in that it veers away somewhat from paternalism although it does not directly provide for the eradication of the causes of sickness and poverty. The strongest chapter is the last, on the establishment of health centers.

E. S. B.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF INSTINCT. By C. C. JOSEY, Dartmouth College. Macmillan Co., 1922, pp. 274.

With one swift gesture, Dr. Josey has placed himself at the head of the group of psychologists and social psychologists who have repudiated a complex theory of inherited instincts with all their social implications, such as McDougall painstakingly built up. He disavows an ancestral spirit psychology, a Divine psychology, a psychology of the species with its implications of inherited psychic tendencies, and rests his argument on "initial structure, its experience, physiological condition, and the presented stimuli." Considerable emphasis is placed on original *activity* (which is inherited) and on *social contacts*. So-called instincts and emotions are not determiners, but responses to and accompaniments of activity. The argument is novel, but not convincing, although full of hope to the educator who by "varying the conditions that confront the individual" pupil may develop him almost as he pleases.

E. S. B.

PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By T. R. WILLIAMSON, Smith College. D. C. Heath and Company, 1922, pp. xv+567.

In this handy and attractive book of fifty chapters the author presents a text book for high school work which begins with economic backgrounds and problems, discusses leading social problems, and closes with the problems of government. While the emphasis upon economic forces rather than *social contacts* as the main basis for understanding social problems will not be satisfactory to the social psychologist, the treatment as a whole is clear-cut and the topics are well chosen. A definite position against socialism is taken. The many questions, topics, and readings are valuable additions to each chapter.

E. S. B.

READINGS IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By T. R. WILLIAMSON. D. C. Heath & Company, 1922, pp. xxiv+538.

In this source book, dedicated to Thomas Nixon Carver, and prepared to accompany the first thirty-eight chapters of the author's "*Problems in American Democracy*," 230 well chosen excerpts from original materials are given. The plan of using the same type for both editorial introductions and the selections works out splendidly.

E. S. B.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS: A STUDY in Social Anthropology. By A. R. BROWN, Cambridge University Press, 1922, pp. xiv+504.

This study brings out the influence of isolation upon a group. These Negritoes have been isolated in their island home and have not been touched by other groups until quite recently, while others in the Malay Peninsula and in the Philippines have been greatly modified by contacts. The effect of isolation is further shown by the differences developed in the Great and Little Andamanese. Since the establishment of the Penal Colony by the Government of India, in 1858, great changes have taken place in customs and a decrease of population has come through the introduction of the diseases of civilization.

W. C. S.

THE EVOLUTION OF MAN. SIGMA XI Lectures, Yale University. Yale University Press, 1922, pp. x+202.

In these six lectures, four members of the faculty of Yale University, one from Harvard, and one from Princeton deal with the antiquity of man (Lull), his natural history (Ferris), the evolution of his nervous system (Parker), and of his intelligence (Angell), societal evolution (Keller), and with the trend of evolution in general (Conklin). With scientific caution and clarity of statement, the review of each of the six fields is made. In the main each lecture is a splendid summary of current scientific knowledge, although not all phases of certain of the topics are treated, for example, in the societal field, the limits of time and space, prevented the lecturer from analyzing the political, the ethical, or the religious evolution of man.

E. S. B.

THE MAKING OF CITIZENS. By J. G. HAMILTON and E. W. KNIGHT, University of North Carolina. A. C. McClurg & Company, 1922, pp. 146.

The authors rightly urge more attention to a citizenship training that will be democratic in its results, that will run through all the school years, and that will overcome the following four defects in American life: (1) ignorance of the fundamental principles of wholesome conduct and social attitudes; (2) indifference and indolence in civic matters; (3) an inability to distinguish the true from the false in statement of fact or in reasoning; and (4) the lack of a social and civic consciousness.

## Literature Notes

*Labor, Preferred.* The industrial situation can never be improved as long as the strike and lock-out systems prevail. Only when each side is willing to forego some of its rights and cooperate with the other in the pursuit of justice, will relief be obtained. E. E. Prussing, *World's Work*, Feb. 1923, 417-421.

*The Development of Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States.*

The responsibility for the unfriendly relations between the Japanese and the people of the United States is largely American. Many acts of the United States, discriminating against her Japanese immigrants, have been unjustifiable. Raymond L. Buell, *Political Science Quarterly*, Dec. 1922, 605-638.

*Social Backgrounds in Sex Hygiene.* The sort of sex education which is needed by the working girls and foreigners is not so much instruction along the physiological aspects of the question as knowledge of the means of leading a happy successful married life, embodying the beauty, harmony, and good-will which are requisite to it. Eleanor R. Weinbridge, *Jour. of Social Hygiene*, Feb. 1923, 65-76.

*The Present Condition of University and Social Settlements in Great Britain.* The most important work which the settlements in England have to do today is to organize and develop neighborhood spirit. The growth of a community consciousness and of a feeling of social responsibility are the surest foundations of a new order. W. Mabane, *Sociological Review*, Jan. 1923, 29-34.

*Possible Effects of Germinal Change upon the Progress and Decay of Civilization.* There is no evidence that the progress or decline of civilization is dependent upon germinal changes, although this factor has a certain influence. A selection in the right direction may bring about the presence of superior mental qualities and a consequent progress in civilization. A. M. Carr-Saunders, *Eugenics Review*, Jan. 1923, 246-257.



*Family Desertion and Non-Support.* Since desertion is a result of broken family life the proper place for preventive work is with the marriage laws. Only improved family life will solve the desertion and divorce problems. Howard S. Patterson, *Jour. of Delinquency*, Nov. 1922, 299-331.

*The Influence of Race in History and Politics.* Notwithstanding Dr. McDougall's contentions to the contrary, it does not seem evident that there are certain inherited racial characteristics which tend to show themselves in the history and organization of nations. G. C. Field, *The Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1923, 287-300.

*Contributions of Sociology to Secondary Education.* Perhaps the most important contribution of sociology to secondary education is in giving the student a sense of the interdependence of all members and parts of society. It emphasizes the coherence and unity of the group, developing the social point of view, a sympathetic imagination, and a spirit of cooperation. E. C. Hayes, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, Jan. 1923, 419-435.

*The American Parent and the Child.* The importance of the home in moulding the character of people cannot be over-emphasized. The level of our American civilization cannot be appreciably raised until the American parent contributes a larger degree of moral and spiritual guidance to the development of the child than he does at present. R. M. Jones, *Bookman*, Feb. 1923, 673-679.

*The Lure of the Stunt.* A depressing factor today is the extreme susceptibility of people to stunts. The spectacular lures them. Thus the successful leader is the one who can win the applause of the people by performing stunts for them. One of the first essentials in a democracy is an educational system which will make people thoughtful, discriminating, and "stunt-proof." Reynell J. Wieford, *Nineteenth Century*, Jan. 1923, 148-155.

*Some Contributions to the History of Sociology.* In studying the history of sociology we are interested in the degree to which social sciences have worked out a reliable method of interpreting human experiences. We find that there is a need of unity in the study of the subject rather than the old division among the various social sciences which existed during the nineteenth century. Albion W. Small, *Amer. Journal of Sociology*, Jan. 1923, 385-418.

*Contributions of American Social Agencies to Social Progress and Democracy.* American private social agencies have made four noteworthy contributions to social progress and the achievement of democracy: (1) they are social explorers—unearthing evils which must be removed, (2) they are powerful in formulating public opinion, (3) they are responsible for an enormous amount of social legislation, (4) they serve as free lances, standard bearers, and the “eternal opposition.” Frank D. Watson, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Jan. 1923, 87-90.

*The Juvenile Court and Public Welfare.* The Juvenile Court was created to protect the child. One of its best aims is to preserve the home. An improved probation system and an increased jurisdiction over home conditions are necessary if the court is to meet some of its most difficult problems, such as: proper safeguards for marriage, recreation, wages, religious and moral training, physical and mental welfare. James H. Ricks, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Jan. 1923, 118-123.

*Back to Africa.* Great credit is due the American Negroes that they have not rallied to the support of Marcus Garvey, who is the product of white oppression and contempt. The solution of the Negro's problem will not come through armed resistance and strained relations with the white people. The races of the earth must live together in cultural sympathy, spiritual tolerance, and human freedom. W. E. B. DuBois, *Century*, Feb. 1923, 539-548.

*The Real Revolt against Civilization.* The revolt of non-white people against Western civilization is inspired not so much by hatred of the white man's power as by an utter disbelief in the white man's philosophy of life. The latter has been shaped by our mechanical industrial system, and the result is a sordid emphasis on large-scale production, efficiency, and standardization which are intolerable to the Eastern soul. N. Peffer, *Century*, Feb. 1923, 559-571.

*A League of Nations or a League of Governments?* The League of Nations cannot be a success as long as it is simply a league of governments and statesmen. In order to be worthy of the name, it must be a league of the souls of the nations. The governments have not the task of making a league among themselves, but of making a league of the people behind them. L. P. Jacks, *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1923, 161-171.

*Community Organization for Rural Social Work.* A fundamental question is whether it is more important to get immediate results in a given project or kind of work, or to incite an interest in the community so that it will perceive and tackle its own problems, and develop social attitudes which will inspire progressing ideals. If this latter be the objective, then the permanent success of social work will be directly dependent upon the degree of community organization. Dwight Sanderson, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Jan, 1923, 156-161.

*Concept of Unselfish Service.* Unselfish service is that behavior which is habitually performed for the good of the whole group without thought of personal gain. It is synonymous with socialized behavior. The spread of this attitude towards life is to be based on habit formation in the early years of life. The justification for the acceptance of the principle of unselfish service is the fact that it is accompanied by an expansion of personality and an increased helpfulness and usefulness of the individual. E. S. Bogardus, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Jan. 1923, 100-102.

*State Program for Mental Hygiene.* Although much has been done to fight cholera, tuberculosis, small pox, and similar enemies to the welfare of mankind, very little effort has been made to prevent and remedy mental diseases and deficiency, which are responsible for much of the delinquency, dependency, and criminality in society. There should be a state program for the supervision of this problem, including means for preventive treatment of children with tendencies toward mental diseases, and a remedial treatment for adult criminals, for whose criminality mental weakness is responsible. V. V. Anderson, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Jan. 1923, 92-100.

*Community Organization in Relation to Social Change.* Custom is one of the strongest factors preventing change or community progress. The binding force of habitual reactions and attitudes is made even stronger by the sentiments and feelings which grow up around such customs. The community leader must take advantage of crises in the community life in order to advance new ideas and bring social change. This requires patient and long-continued effort and a sharp look-out for the arising of situations which will permit of changing public opinion. Jesse F. Steiner, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Jan. 1923, 102-108.

## Round Table Notes

A MAN'S character is his actual behavior, when all of his conduct is considered. Hollingworth, *Judging Human Character*, p. 3.

IT is thought that the most effective check against error is an examination of the sources of one's own prejudices. Ogburn, *Social Change*, p. 7.

CIVILIZATION is the result of accumulations of social inheritance, and the future progress of society must depend largely upon this capacity of profiting by the experiences of former generations. A. G. Keller, in *The Evolution of Man*, p. 158.

FICTION used to be, and is yet, carefully chosen for the youth of properly brought up families. Wherefore, then, should we not have a care as to the choice of their motion pictures? Oberholtzer, *The Morals of the Movie*, p. 91.

WE IN the East have long been suffering humiliation at the hands of the West. It is enormously difficult for us, either to cultivate or express any love for Western races—especially as it may have the appearance of snobbishness or prudence. Rabindranath Tagore, *Living Age*, Feb. 10, 1923, p. 347.

NO COMMUNITY can permanently succeed whose people associate in it merely for the advantages which they may gain. There must be a genuine willingness to give as well as to receive, a real desire to do one's share for the common life. Human association cannot succeed on a basis of organized selfishness. Dwight Sanderson, *The Farmer and His Community*, p. 237.

IN THE war-after-the next the two belligerents almost simultaneously will launch over the enemy territory a huge fleet of aeroplanes dropping containers of poison gas. After having done a workmanlike job, each fleet will return home to find its people blotted out. The crews of the air fleets will be the sole survivors of the first offensive. Thereafter they will never complain of lack of elbow room in their own country. E. A. Ross in Preface of *Non-violent Coercion*, by C. M. Case.

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

THE PREVAILING disregard for law is a serious symptom in our democracy. It crops out among the wealthy, being justified by them on the grounds that they are entitled to "special privileges;" it is found among the poorer classes, being justified by them for the reason that the rich are breaking the law and are "getting by," and because "law and order" are found at times on the side of injustice. In a democracy we transgress the law because we the people make the law, and feel bigger than the thing we have made. There is needed a renaissance of respect for law, but this cannot be effected unless law is continually joined with current human welfare rather than with precedents; and with justice, especially to the weak and the so-called defeated classes.

MINIMUM WAGE legislation has received a temporary setback by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court. The needs of working girls who are helpless as individual bargainers in industry will continue to appeal with increasing force to the people. Since working girls are not very successful in organizing and since they are at a great disadvantage as individual bargainers the law must come to their support. The National Consumers' League (44 East 23rd Street, New York City) is "defending the girls and the law," and a membership (five dollars) in the League will help both "the girls and the law."

THE DEFINITE organization of the California Academy of Social Sciences was effected at the meeting held April 20-21, at Stanford University. The purpose is "to provide for a forum for the free discussion of problems arising within the field of the social sciences, and to promote such activities as will serve this purpose." It is hoped that the Academy will interest not only teachers of the social sciences—history, economics, sociology, political science, psychology, and philosophy—but also public spirited citizens in private life. Definite plans for research on social problems are being developed. Published proceedings will be undertaken later. The next meeting of the Academy is scheduled for Los Angeles, with the University of Southern California, and the University of California, Southern Branch, acting as hosts. Exact dates are not yet announced, but the meeting will be held during the fall semester.

PSYCHIATRIC social workers throughout the country have organized as a Section of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers. The requirements for active membership are based upon definite training and experience. The objects of the Section are (1) to promote association among psychiatric social workers and (2) to maintain standards in psychiatric social work. The term "psychiatric social worker" was first used about 1918 to indicate a person working in association with a psychiatrist in the study and care of persons who present psychiatric problems, such as mental disease, delinquency, anti-social behavior, or bad habits. Gradually there arose a need for a specially trained social worker, with a dominant interest in mental processes and mental hygiene to work with the psychiatrist and several institutions are now offering courses for social workers in the particular field. The secretary of the new organization is Mrs. H. C. Solomon, 74 Fenwood Road, Boston, Mass.

## WORLD NOTES

"INTERNATIONALISM is the getting together of the nations to do things together that they cannot do alone," said Dr. Francis J. McConnell in an address on "International Relationships" last month at the University of Southern California.

IN FULFILLING her obligations to the rest of the world the United States can hardly do less than become a member of the Court of International Justice. If need be let there be reservations at first; but let the United States begin to function in a large way in helping a sick world to return to health and then to go forward to higher levels of international endeavor.

AN EVENT of outstanding international significance is the visit of Lord Robert Cecil to the United States in order to present the cause of wholesome participation in world affairs by the United States. Lord Cecil's addresses represent an important factor in shifting American public opinion toward world participation. The distinguished visitor, a member of the Assembly of the League of Nations, has disarmed unfavorable criticism by his sincerity and non-dogmatic attitudes. He has pointed out how much the United States is needed in straightening out world affairs, and has asked that if the United States is not willing to enter into the League, that she do something in a big, international way to save civilization.

FRANCE is in a real dilemma. Her fear of a rejuvenated and populous Germany is well founded. On the other hand if she holds Germany in economic subjection reparations will not be forthcoming. To release Germany to the point of economic development where she can pay heavy indemnities is to allow her that degree of strength that makes her dangerous to France. Mutual hatred prevents Germany and France from solving the situation amicably. The solution seemingly is to be found outside either Germany or France, perhaps through a series of international conferences held in the United States and through an Association of Nations based on principles of world welfare, guaranteeing to France protection from wilful invasion and to Germany a justice that is due a defeated but erstwhile ruthless aggressor in world affairs.

THE CULTURED people of many countries, even in cities such as Constantinople, take just pride in speaking two or more languages, while the accomplishment in the United States is generally ignored. Consequently, we are in an unfavorable position with reference to making direct contacts with the current thought life of other peoples. The American, however, though he read only the English language, may subscribe to and read regularly one of the journals devoted to world matters. There is an American weekly, *The Living Age*, for example, which publishes only materials selected from publications in other countries (translated into English) and thus succeeds in a measure in living up to its slogan of bringing "the world to America."

THE NEED for a world language is growing rapidly. A made-to-order claimant, such as Esperanto, makes no headway, for it lacks a literature content and background. Being void of personal experience elements it remains objective and formal, a structure failing to enliven the imagination. The English and French languages are both extending their scope, with the former spreading more rapidly than the latter, and possessing possibilities of becoming some day the world language. Long before that day arrives may a series of conferences be convened by the ablest language connoisseurs for the purpose of eliminating the inconsistencies in, and of simplifying the unnecessary complexities of, the spelling and grammar of the English language; and then may steps be taken for getting these changes accepted by English-speaking peoples.

IN THE ATTEMPTS to secure international action it is well to remember one of President Wilson's finest injunctions, namely, "to organize the friendship of the world." A good place for the United States to begin on this task would be to organize whatever friendship exists between our country and Great Britain, and further, to promote a new and greater friendship. We belonged to her longer than we have been independent. We are her child in language, morals, religion, government, and other social institutions. However different we may be from her and however similar we may be to other nations, there is nevertheless a greater variety of and more fundamental similarities between the English and ourselves than between any other people and ourselves—hence a better basis for organizing a mutual friendship that should not be used of course for Anglo-American domination, but for Anglo-American service.



## THE MODIFIABILITY OF HUMAN NATURE AND HUMAN INSTITUTIONS\*

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

*Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri*

MODERN sociological research has shown almost beyond the shadow of doubt the plasticity or modifiability of human nature in social life. Much of the incubus of doubt which has rested upon idealistic social programmes in the past has been due to the supposition that human nature was unmodifiable. But the studies of anthropologists and sociologists of all the peoples of the world show human nature to be one of the most modifiable things we know, and we are almost justified in drawing the conclusion that it may be indefinitely modified by social institutions and the social environment. Thus we find all forms of family life and sex relations among human beings from the lowest and most degraded bestial type to the highest and most idealistic which ethical religion has advocated. Apparently in every case these forms are due to the social traditions and customs of the groups in which they are found. The "mores," or social standards of the group, as Professor William Graham Sumner long ago showed,<sup>1</sup> are all-powerful in molding human behavior and social institutions. We can no longer regard human nature, therefore, as a sort of a dead weight upon human aspirations which prevents man from realizing his ideals. To be sure, there are right ways and wrong ways—foolish ways and wise

\*This is a brief extract from a book soon to be published by the Macmillan Company for Professor Ellwood, under the title "Christianity and Social Science: A Challenge to the Church." The book is based upon lectures delivered by Professor Ellwood before the Yale Divinity School, Nov. 20-24, 1922.—Editor.

<sup>1</sup>In his book *Folkways*.

ways—of attempting to control or modify human nature and human behavior. Men have often failed in the past in their attempts at the modification of human nature, not because it cannot be modified, but because ignorantly they have gone about it in the wrong way.

What we have just said about the modifiability of human nature in family and sex relations applies equally, of course, to political and industrial relations. All forms of government have been found to exist among the various peoples of the world from the most oppressive and degrading despotisms to the most ennobling democracy. In every case the prevalence of these forms seems to depend chiefly upon the prevalence of certain traditions and customs, though other factors, such as the use of physical force, of course enter in. But we may safely draw the conclusion that the "mores" are all-powerful in the political as well as in the other aspects of our social life.

Again, all forms of industrial life and organization are found in human groups, from the most absolute slavery to the utmost free contract and cooperation. While conditions in the physical environment and the use of physical force by one group over another have played a part in establishing these various forms of industry, yet on the whole the main part has been played again by the traditions and customs of the peoples. Slavery when once established becomes supported by tradition and custom, and often tradition and custom maintain it long after other facts become relatively unfavorable. It is certain, at any rate, that the "mores" play the decisive part in the maintenance of slavery and, for that matter, of any other form of industry. It is also certain that human nature finds it possible to accept because of influences in the physical environment and the influence of social tradition almost any form of industry and to maintain it for centuries. So far as we can see, much in our present industrial life must rest simply upon

our social traditions and customs and upon conditions in our environment. If we can modify those traditions and customs and environmental conditions, there is no reason to believe that human nature would present any insuperable difficulty to attaining a much higher ethical stage in our industrial life than we have yet attained.

Another illustration may be afforded by military and warlike activities. It has been supposed by many that man is naturally and ineradicably a fighting animal and that wars between human groups are simply the outcome of this deplorable trait of human nature. Careful investigation, however, seems to show that the military activities of peoples, and especially what we call militarism, are almost wholly due to their "mores." It is the establishment of the habit of fighting which grows in time into a social custom and then becomes supported by a social tradition which makes war so prevalent among some peoples. Militaristic mores, in other words, and not human nature, not geographical conditions, not even lack of food, are immediately responsible for the wars which have drenched this world with blood. In a later article we shall try to show exactly how this internecine strife between human groups arose. It is sufficient at this point to emphasize that too much blame has been placed upon human nature and not enough upon the erroneous ideas and beliefs and customs of peoples. We have every reason to believe that a condition of peace among the nations is in no wise incompatible with human nature and that if we take wise enough measures to lessen the occasions of strife among groups of men we shall find that human nature is not averse to lasting peace.

Indeed, we may sum up the whole matter by saying that the tentative conclusion of anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists is that the mind of man, that is, the complex of thoughts, feelings, desires, and impulses

which we find in human beings, is very largely a product of social and cultural conditions. Yet it is just this complex of thought and feeling which is ordinarily termed "human nature." There is, to be sure, an original nature of man which comes to us through heredity. But it is just the modification of this original nature by the influences of the physical and social environment which gives us the nature or the character of the adult individual. Hence the mind of the adult individual, even its very method of working, is largely an acquirement from the social environment. "*The mind*," says Professor Robinson,<sup>2</sup> "*is a matter of accumulation and it has been in the making ever since man took his first step in civilization.*"

To be sure, the sanest, the most careful anthropologists and sociologists, do not go so far as to regard the human individual as a mere blank piece of paper, so to speak, upon which the impress of his culture or civilization may be made. We must admit the fact of an original human nature. How great a part this original human nature plays in human society, however, through original impulses that assert themselves in a practically unmodified form has not yet been determined. But it is certain that the researches of anthropology and sociology do not sustain the contentions of those schools of social thinkers, such as the Freudians, who throw so much stress upon instincts that they make the original impulses practically to determine the form of social institutions and the behavior of civilized men. On the contrary, all sociological researches point in the opposite direction. They show clearly enough that the difference between savage and civilized man is one of habits, ideas, standards, and values. Even with respect to the great variations in human conduct in civilized society, social research leads to the conclusion that *the criminal and the saint may be made out of the same original human ma-*

<sup>2</sup>*The Mind in the Making*, p. 206.

terial—that, e. g., whether a normal child shall grow up into a criminal or into an ideal social personality depends quite entirely upon the influences which surround him in his social environment, and especially in his personal education.

In a word, sociology finds that current popular opinion errs in abstracting the person from his social environment and assuming as innate that which is social in origin and nature. This is perhaps due to the tendency to identify the familiar with the natural. Beyond question, *science shows that human personality is created in a social situation and that it is always largely a social product.*

It follows that the social behavior of men and the institutions of human society are plastic and modifiable. They are the result, not of innate traits plus the influences of physical environment, but rather of mental patterns in the minds of the individuals of a group. These mental patterns, while greatly affected by innate tendencies and by conditions in the physical environment, in almost every case have been transmitted to the existing members of a group by previous generations. In other words, the mental patterns which stand immediately back of our social behavior and our institutional life come to us from tradition and from custom. As we trace back their origin in human history we find that while the physical environment and the innate dispositions of man have often played a part in their formation, yet it is also true that many other factors such as the amount of ignorance or knowledge which a group possesses, its good or bad fortune in the distant past, and the like, have also played a part. In other words, sociology finds that human institutions are derived from customs, and customs have supporting them certain beliefs and opinions which may be right or may be wrong.

The public opinion or popular belief which lies back of an institution is of course the result, not of organic evo-

lution or of any innate biological traits, but of a learning process which has gone on in the group by the method of trial and error. Human institutions, sociology shows, are in every case *learned* adjustments. As such, they can be modified in individuals, provided we can control the learning process. The custom or tradition out of which an institution is formed is easily enough changed, provided we can show all individuals concerned that it is an error, and provided also we can change those material conditions in the environment which have come to support the institution and perhaps make it advantageous for individuals or a class of individuals to maintain it. This may be difficult in practice to do, but careful study shows clearly that the social and institutional life of man is indefinitely modifiable, in the way of more reasonable adjustments to the requirements of social existence.

We may perhaps sum up the conclusions of modern sociology on this point by saying that the substance of culture, or civilization, is social tradition; that this social tradition is indefinitely modifiable through further learning on the part of men of happier and better ways of living together; and that, if it were possible to control the learning of all individuals in the way both of ideas and of emotional attitudes as they come on to the stage of life, it would be possible to modify the whole complex of our social life, or our civilization, within the comparatively short space of one or two generations.

This is not saying, however, that human groups could devise any sort of institutions which they choose and establish them in practice. Modern social science is very far from endorsing the contract theory of society, either as a theory of the origin of human institutions or as a theory of social reconstruction. On the contrary, social science shows that while there are many wrong ways of constructing institutions there are only a few right ways; and that

thus the matter of building institutions aright becomes, so to speak, as much an engineering problem as the building of roads or bridges. But what social science does show is the modifiability, the plasticity of existing institutions, and the possibility of reconstructing them in accordance with rational ideas and human advantage, theoretically even within a comparatively short space of time, if we understood practically how to control all conditions.

Thus *the scientific study of institutions reinforces ethical religion, in that it inspires man with faith in the possibility of remaking both human nature and human social life.* The old idea that man can no more improve his social and cultural life by "taking thought" than he can lift himself by tugging at his bootstraps is a superstition in the light of modern science; for the scientific study of human society shows that *institutions are everywhere due to the creativeness of man.* It is not simply some tools and modern machines that are products of man's creativeness or inventiveness; but institutions, whether domestic, economic, political, religious, or educational. In fact the whole culture of man, anthropology and sociology now generally recognize, is in one sense a work of art. It may be very hard to change the mental patterns which lie back of the production of a certain type of tools, or of a certain type of institutions; yet this has been done over and over again in the past, and the scientific imagination is confident that new and superior ways will be discovered of doing this in the future. While the social and cultural evolution of man proceeds in part in an unconscious way, yet in part it also proceeds through conscious inventiveness or creation; and this conscious creativeness we find upon examination plays a larger and larger part in the making of institutions, and so in the making of the whole complex of man's social life, as we come down in human history. The unconscious element which enters into the making of human institutions

and human relations thus seems destined to become smaller and smaller as man develops, through the aid of science, a more complete consciousness of himself and his world.

Moreover, human creativeness is not shown merely by the making of tools and institutions. As Professor Hocking has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> man is really engaged in the task of remaking himself, his own human nature, and it is in this task especially that man shows his creative power. Man accomplishes this task through education in the broadest sense of that word; that is, he uses the knowledge, standards, and values which he has discovered, to control and modify his own conduct. While the knowledge, standards, and values which man has discovered can be used advantageously only if used to bring conduct into harmony with the objective conditions of human existence, yet this should not obscure the fact that man is taking a conscious part in his own evolution. Consciously he is setting up mental patterns, or, as we say, "ideals," by which he controls conduct. Man is thus consciously engaged in building his human world and in modifying his own nature. He may of course make mistakes in his efforts at conscious self control and social control; and if such mistakes concern the whole fabric of civilization and the fundamental standards or patterns by which men control their conduct, the results may be disastrous.

Thus modern social science would reinstate and re-emphasize the idea of human responsibility for the affairs of our human world; only it would find that that responsibility is not merely an individual affair but also a collective matter. Communities and nations are responsible for the general conduct of their affairs not less than individuals. This perception of a collective or social responsibility does not, we may remark in passing, decrease individual responsibility. On the contrary, it should increase enormously

<sup>3</sup>See *Human Nature and Its Remaking*, Chaps. I-III.



the sense of responsibility in all who have any understanding of modern social science; for it becomes evident at once that we all have a double responsibility, a responsibility for the conduct of the affairs of our individual lives, and at the same time a responsibility as members of groups for the conduct of those groups, whether in relation to their internal affairs or in relation to other groups. *Social science thus means not only an awakening, but a deepening of the social conscience—not only an understanding of social obligations, but an increasing of the sense of social obligation.*



WE TEND to live our way into our thinking infinitely more than we tend to think our way into our living. Williams, *Horny Hands and Hampered Elbows*, p. ix.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to sustain democracy in our political life without accepting democracy as a conscious program for all other phases of our social life also. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 258.

A RELIGIONLESS social world would be a social world of uncertainties, destitute of enthusiasm, and of vision, reduced to the dead level of individual expediency. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 60.

IT IS IDLE to talk of the kingdom of God, of an ideal social order in which the divine will is realized, as long as an essentially pagan economic system prevails. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 211.

MEN CREATE values only by coming into relationships with other men, and they create them directly in proportion as they work together successfully at the tasks of life. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 163.

# THE WORLD COURT OF JUSTICE

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THE MESSAGE of the President of the United States to the Senate in which he advocates the entrance of the Republic into the Permanent Court of International Justice now organized and functioning, centers the attention of the peoples of the world, particularly of the United States, on the nature of this new court and its possible influence on international society and world civilization. It shall be the purpose of this paper to describe how the court came into being, to analyze its structure and powers, and to suggest possible effects on the development of future organized society.

## THE COURT AND APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

Raymond Robins found that bad milk in one of the wards of Chicago was an evil which was intolerable in a civilized city; he addressed himself to the task of eliminating this evil together with others equally as bad. But the war of 1914-1918 broke; it brought in its train conditions in organized society that dwarfed into comparative insignificance the evils which creep into cities and nations in times of peace and normalcy. Social workers, among them Mr. Robins, saw that they were trying to stop the evil waters by dipping out the sink rather than by turning off the faucet. Mr. Robins and others believing as he does have turned their attention to the outlawry and illegalization of war. But in order to accomplish this end a substitute for war in the settlement of international disputes

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has to be found: this substitute in part is the World Court. The human mind has yet to conceive a better substitute.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE COURT

A world court is nothing new in world politics. A careful survey of political thought for centuries back will bear out the statement that nearly every recorded plan for maintaining peace in the world had, as a central plank, provision for some kind of a court of justice or arbitration.

The Achaean League of the Ancient Greeks knew the process of arbitration of disputes. James Madison made the following reference to the league in number XVIII of the Federalist:

"One important fact seems to be witnessed by all the historians who take notice of Achaean affairs. It is, that as well after the renovation of the league by Aratus, as before its dissolution by the arts of Macedon, there was infinitely more of moderation and justice in the administration of its government, than were to be found in any of the cities exercising *singly* all the prerogatives of sovereignty. . ."

The Grand Design (Grand Dessein) of Henry IV of France published about 1603 contained provision for an arbitral council; it was a very elaborate plan for maintaining the peace of Europe. Concerning Henry's plan, Benjamin Franklin wrote to a friend in Europe, Oct. 22, 1787:

"I send you enclos'd the propos'd new Federal Constitution for these States. I was engaged 4 months of last Summer in the Convention that formed it. It is now sent by Congress to the several States for their confirmation. If it succeeds, I do not see why you may not in Europe carry the Project of good Henry the 4th into execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republic of all its different States and Kingdoms, by means of a like Convention, for we had many interests to reconcile."

Hugo Grotius, the Father of International Law, wrote in 1625 in favor of arbitration and rational settlement of international differences:

"Another way is compromise, or arbitration between the parties who have no judge. . . . But especially are Christian Kings and States bound to try this way of avoiding war. For if, in order to avoid being subject to the judgment of persons who were not of true religion, certain arbiters were appointed both by Jews and Christians, and the practice is commanded by Paul; how much more is this to be done, in order to avoid a much greater inconvenience, namely war."

William Penn in his well-known *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe*, 1693, advocated a "General Dyet" to which all disputes not settled by diplomacy were to be referred, the Dyet then sitting as a "Sovereign Court."

Mention has been made of only a few of the thinkers who have proposed some form of a court. The traditional policy of the United States has been turned towards arbitration. This is shown by the treaties of Ghent, Washington, The Hague (1899 and 1907), the Jay Treaty, the Bryan Treaties, the Pan-American Agreements, and the Four-Power Agreement regarding the Pacific. Individuals favoring arbitration and judicial settlement might be numbered almost indefinitely. Suffice it here to record the names of Charles Sumner, Francis Lieber, John Hay, Theodore Roosevelt, and Rufus Choate—all illustrious in United States history.

In 1907 the Second Conference met and improved upon the work accomplished by the first meeting in 1899. It attempted to create a true world court of justice but failed because the small nations wanted equal voice with the larger ones in selecting judges; the greater Powers were unwilling at that time to grant such concessions and the

plan failed for the time being. But the problem was then crystallized for the solution which came with the establishment of the League of Nations with its two main agencies of action: the Council and the Assembly.

By utilizing the services of the Council and Assembly the framers of the court plan were able to agree on a method of electing the eleven judges constituting the court. By an ingenious system based on the suggestion of Elihu Root, the judges are finally chosen by a concurrent vote of an absolute majority both in the Council and the Assembly. In this way the interests of the large and small States alike are recognized; equal voice occurring in the Assembly, while the large Powers predominate in the Council.

The World Court judges are nominated by the national groups of the Hague Court of Arbitration of 1899 and 1907. These national groups nominate not more than four candidates who must be men of the highest legal and judicial training, must represent the "main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world." (Art. 9). They are elected for a term of nine years and may be reëlected. In addition to the eleven judges there are four deputy judges chosen in the same manner. The salaries are paid by the League of Nations. These vary from \$6,000 to \$15,000 annually, depending largely on the length of the sessions.

Since the United States is not a member of the League it is readily seen that some method must be devised whereby she can participate in the election of judges. Such a method is suggested by having her representatives take temporary seats in the Council and Assembly *ad hoc*, that is, for the express purpose of voting for judges and for no other purpose. In this way the sovereignty of the nation would be recognized.

Even though the United States was not a member of the League of Nations, upon the nomination of Brazil, Pro-

fessor John Bassett Moore of Columbia University, one of the foremost authorities of the world on international law and arbitration, was elected on an early ballot, a member of the court. Dr. Moore is highly regarded by the officials at Washington as is evidenced by generous references made to him by the Secretary of State in his Boston address of October 30, 1922, and by the fact that he has been appointed to serve on a commission of jurists to codify certain branches of international law contemplated by the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament.

#### JURISDICTION OF THE COURT

After considerable discussion the framers of the court plan decided that it should have jurisdiction of suits between States; it should be open of right to all States members of the League of Nations, and all other States should have access to it under certain conditions. *Compulsory* jurisdiction was *recommended* in the five categories of questions enumerated below:

"Between States which are members of the League of Nations, the Court shall have jurisdiction (and this without any special convention giving it jurisdiction) to hear and determine cases of legal nature concerning:

- (a) the interpretation of a treaty;
- (b) any question of international law;
- (c) the existence of any fact which if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- (d) the nature or extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation;
- (e) the interpretation of a sentence passed by the Court.

The Court shall also take cognizance of all disputes of any kind which may be submitted to it by a general or particular convention between the parties.

In the event of a dispute as to whether a certain case comes within any of the categories above mentioned, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court."

This recommendation of the committee regarding compulsory jurisdiction in the five categories was finally disposed of by the so-called optional clause which reads as follows:

"The undersigned, being duly authorized thereto, further declare, on behalf of their Government, that, from this date, they accept as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special convention, the jurisdiction of the Court in conformity with Article 36, etc."

Fifteen States out of the forty-six which have already ratified the statute of the court, have accepted compulsory jurisdiction on a reciprocal basis. It is expected by the friends of the court that if it prove useful and satisfactory, other Powers will come to accept obligatory jurisdiction.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE PRESENT COURT

The eleven judges now composing the Permanent Court were selected at the second meeting of the League Assembly in September, 1921. Following is a list of the judges and the deputies:

Professor John Bassett Moore (United States)  
M. Rafael Altamira (Spain)  
Professor Anzilotti (Italy)  
M. Ruy Barbosa (Brazil)  
Professor Antonio De Bustamente (Cuba)  
Viscount Robert B. Finlay (Great Britain)  
M. Max Heber (Switzerland)  
M. G. G. Nyholm (Denmark)  
Dr. Yorosu (Japan)  
M. Andre Weiss (France)  
Dr. B. T. O. Loder (Holland)

#### *Deputies:*

M. F. V. N. Berchmann (Norway)  
M. Demetre Negulesco (Roumania)  
Mr. Wang Cheng Hui (China)  
M. Michael Yovanovitch (Jugo-Slavia).

## ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE COURT

Amidst elaborate ceremonies the court held its first session at The Hague, beginning January 30, 1922. Holland, the mother country of Grotius, took a keen interest in this new institution which peculiarly carries on the work so well begun by him in 1625. The meeting of the court was regarded as an important national event and suitable ceremonies were planned.

The judges adopted judicial robes which will hereafter be worn by them when engaged in active duties of the court. The following oath was formulated to be taken at the beginning of the eleven-year term:

"Having been elected a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice by the votes both of the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations I----- solemnly pledge myself to exercise at all times, with complete impartiality and according to my conscience, the duties with which I have been intrusted."

At the first regular session of the court, held in June, 1922, the two cases on the docket were requests for advisory opinions on the questions, first as to whether jurisdiction of the International Labor Organization extended to those engaged in agriculture, and second, whether the Dutch delegates to the third International Labor Conference were chosen in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles. A third opinion has since been given regarding conflicting nationalities in Morocco.

In connection with the first decision of the court, M. Leon Bourgeois, who recently resigned his post as President of the French Senate in order to devote his remaining years entirely to international justice, had this to say:

"When the President of the established Court of International Justice first pronounces the judgment which will express the judicial will of all free nations, his voice will be



heard to the ends of the world. . . . Between the present anarchical system of international justice and the sound principles which we hope to establish there is a long step to take. Up to the present time we have been groping in the dark. Now we have a scheme placed before us. . . . We will each of us work in our own country for the accomplishment of our task. I see before us the star rising above the mountains; it grows clearer every day, and by this star people will find their way to their ultimate goal. '*Ubi lux, ubi jus, ibi pax.*' "

#### CONCLUSIONS

If M. Bourgeois is right in stating that peace will be found where light and justice prevail, the world court must show that it is an agency of light and justice. Few will deny that peace is preferable to war, but more will doubt that the court is an instrumentality guided only by justice and the searchlight of crystallized world opinion. Someone has well said that where the sunlight of God's truth is brought to bear upon injustice and oppression, the fogs will soon clear away. Since the world court has no police force to uphold any decisions it may render, world opinion must be the backing force. It is not unreasonable to believe that civilized nations will honor the awards of a tribunal which they have solemnly created to make such awards. One hundred and ten millions of people have loyally abided by decisions of the United States Supreme Court; no force has yet been called out for the purpose of enforcing such decisions. Likewise international arbitral awards have generally been scrupulously followed. But international justice is a slow process; it has been sadly neglected. As leg by leg the dog goes over the Dover, so it is step by step that we have reached the world court. Civil national courts have been substituted for self help and brute force; duelling has received the ban of civilization, and war was never so unpopular as it is today. Now the

world court appears. If it is given reasonable encouragement, it is not idle to express the hope and belief that it will immeasurably increase the understanding and confidence between civilized peoples, gradually supplant war as an agency for settling world differences and thus divert vast energies from destructive to constructive purposes. At least it is worth the try.



IT IS NOT being misunderstood which hurts most; it is being understood at our weakest, just as what helps the most is being understood at our best. Bosanquet, *The Family*, p. 250.

CITY OR TOWN planning is the guidance of the physical development of communities in the attainment of unity in their construction. Williams, *The Law of City Planning and Zoning*, p. 1.

WE CONCEIVE that social work will some day pass, in the form of more or less definite principles, into a great body of sociological theory. Southard and Jarrett, *The Kingdom of Evils*, p. 368.

THE FAMILY is not only the chief primary group, but it is the chief creator and bearer of primary moral ideals. The disintegration of the family is, therefore, necessarily accompanied by moral disintegration. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 21.

WE HAVE to learn that we are not wholly patriotic when we are working with all our heart for America merely; we are truly patriotic only when we are working also that America may take her place worthily and helpfully in the world of nations. Follett, *The New State*, p. 347.

RELIGION is and must remain essentially in the realm of faith; it necessarily transcends science, but it can and should become rational faith, energizing men for better living both individually and socially, and seeking the aid of science, especially the social sciences, for the building of a better human world. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. xi.

# SOME PRESENT PROBLEMS FOR EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGISTS<sup>1</sup>

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## I.

THE FINDINGS and methods of sociological inquiry are destined to be given one of their largest and most useful fields of application in education. Educators are now fairly well agreed that the two most important basic or "source" sciences for education are psychology and sociology. Psychology is now making signal progress in ascertaining and measuring the several kinds of educabilities found in educands; its next large field of achievement will undoubtedly be in developing, and measuring the effects of better method methods of instruction and training where objectives have already been acceptably determined.

Sociology, and especially the social psychology of "small group" incentives and cooperations, should also prove a valuable source of more effective methods for school and classroom, and in evaluating the effects of extra-school education. The sociological testing and improving of *methods* in education of all sorts is especially important at the present juncture since so much of education, and most of all in public schools, must be administered on a "mass" basis, and with a maximum of cooperations and other mutualities of social relationship.

A scientific social psychology should, too, presently show us how, in school discipline and social control, to steer a fair course between the Scylla of autocratic domination

<sup>1</sup>From discussion at Cleveland, February 27, 1923, on the occasion of the formation of "The Society of American Educational Sociologists."

and the Charybdis of infant and adolescent anarchy and mob spirit. It should enable us to discover how the social controls of the school can be made to serve not only as means to immediate school work, but also as means towards the larger "socialization" through which the youngsters are prepared eventually to emerge as men and women fitted for the adult social interdependence demanded by civilized life.

But the major opportunity of using sociology as a means of scientific education is to be found in the accurate determination of the inclusive, and then of the specific, objectives, purposes, aims, or goals, of any given department of education. Outside the primary school, and even there only as respects certain "school arts," the ignorance of educators as to "worthwhile" objectives is fairly scandalous. A man from Mars, reading the pedagogical literature of the last fifty years, would certainly be justified in concluding that American educators do not know in any adequate degree what the high school is for, what the liberal arts college should stand for, why we should teach Latin, French, or Ancient History, or what we really mean by such "woolly" phrases as "physical training," "civic education," or "prevocational education."

A sadly large proportion of the educational writers and speakers of today are "aspirationalists"—they are indeed turning their backs upon the past, but instead of working plans and prospects for the future they can offer only wishes and speculations. For defensive purposes they naturally couch these in fine-sounding generalizations and attractive catchwords—and, deceiving others, they are also frequently themselves deceived, and led into the fogs by these creations of their imagination.

Though America now spends upwards of a billion dollars annually on her public schools, none of us can produce even roughly reliable estimates of the resulting val-

ues—values, that is, in conserved social inheritances, in enhanced culture, improved civic performance, better health, greater economic efficiency. We do not know, even to the extent of crude probabilities, whether as a people we are profiting from our investments in the teaching of modern languages, music, manual training, stenography, classical English literature, written composition, or nature study. We are frequently startled by apprehensions that in some cases at least—as where we teach algebra to girls, advanced arithmetic to farmers' sons, modern languages to high school pupils of intelligence sub-average for high school entrants—that our instruction confers a net amount of harm instead of any good whatever.

Only an extensive, well-analyzed, and severely tested knowledge of the social organizations, processes, and values of American—and, ultimately, of world—societies can help us out of the wilderness of ignorance in which, now that we have begun to question tradition, we find ourselves here. For that knowledge we certainly cannot look to physiology or biology, though these may offer hints. Psychology can indicate upper and lower limits of the several educabilities of different classes or types of learners, but it can have little of guidance to offer as to best goals of learning. Every variety of education must be designed to make certain kinds and degrees of *changes* in individuals—and, almost always, changes that, through a few through many, or through all, individuals will enrich and otherwise improve the collective life, present and to come. But what are the changes, and in whom must they be effected, thus needed by the collective life—the collective life of families and of races, of villages and of cities, of corporations and of consumers, of congregations and of unions, of parties and of nations? Only a far-reaching and withal concretely analyzed body of sociological science—or its equivalent worked out by educators themselves—can tell us.

## II.

Even now we have educational sociologists in the making. Some, having been by previous profession educators, are practical men turning to sociology for findings and methods in curriculum reorganization. Some, coming from the field of sociology, are finding in education a fascinating field wherein to bring some of their "general" sociology down to the earth of realistic and serviceable application.

What are some of the problems with which these should concern themselves? In so important a subject it would not be unfair to ask them first to define the field and the larger problems of educational sociology itself—since, it would appear, there is no considerable agreement yet as to just what that field is. Certainly it should prove of utmost importance for all workers in this field soon to elucidate and formulate their conceptions of the character, scope, purposes and principal methods of their chosen field of work. The physician who cannot heal himself is open to severe suspicion; so should be also the professed student of "educational objectives" who lets the objectives of his own field remain obscure and its values be taken on faith.

The major immediate problem, as the present writer sees it, for educational sociologists, is to dissociate their thinking as far as practicable from historic modes of philosophic speculation and deductive or *a priori* generalization. This will not prove at all simple, especially in view of the fact that general sociology is itself still heavily dependent upon the methods of philosophy rather than of scientific analysis and experimentation.

Nevertheless, educational sociologists can in some degree even now begin to show appreciation of scientific methods. They can, for example, insist upon using, and trying to persuade others to use, fairly exact definitions

of the terms which they employ. They can make sparing use of those abstract terms that tend to elude definition. Where omnibus terms must be employed, as in the case of such words as "education," "society," "democracy," and the like, they can at least take some precautions to see that trying to persuade others to use, fairly exact definitions given to these by inductive processes—even if these seem to involve a heaping up of elaborate details.

Most educators are much too free in their use, without adequate analysis, of such general terms as "education." A well-known writer recently used the terms "education" and "training" in opposition, as if somehow they were mutually exclusive. To the educational sociologist belongs the responsibility of working out a terminology that shall be fairly definitive. He urgently needs critical analysis, indeed, as a means of defining and comparing educational values. Who can define education in general? Recent writings amply prove that college professors certainly can not. An inductive approach, however, ought to help toward this end. When we teach spelling or handwriting, a trade or a liking for pictures, some facts of history or the habit of putting money in the savings bank, certain forms of dancing or how to translate French, we are educating, are we not? In the same way, various other activities that should or should not be enumerated as a part of the educative process can be amplified.

The same thing holds true of such a term as "society." The average student is bewildered by this abstraction, since, while he may be able to apprehend in it something of a "core," he is quite helpless in trying to conceive of its range of boundaries. But a practice on the part of instructors of speaking of "societies" in the plural, renders comprehension much more ready, especially when typical concrete societies, such as families, neighborhood communities, political parties, municipal communities, na-

tional communities, religious associations, fellowship associations, gangs, cliques, and the numberless other forms of social organizations known to the student and instructor are freely and frequently named. Here, too, the problem for the educational sociologist, a problem whose importance is inversely proportional to the maturity and general education of his students, is to find a large number of concrete amplifications of societies to the end that learners may gradually build their own general conceptions more or less on an inductive basis.

Only by such processes of preliminary analysis and comparative evaluation can we ultimately arrive at some defensible findings regarding educational values. Every subject that has ever been proposed for inclusion in school curricula probably has value—but how much of value in general, and how much of value for particular classes of learners? That is the rub. The Greek language and literature are certainly of very great value, but so also are Spanish, French, Japanese and the rest. For whom is Greek more valuable than any other language, and for whom would it be a serious misdirection of zeal to allow Greek to supplant Spanish?

Numerous phases of hygiene, physical training, civic education, vocational education, have their importance as well as the several aspects of cultural education with which they are in competition. There is not time for every good thing, and for any given class of learners that which is most important must be discovered and adapted.

### III.

A second problem of great importance to educators at the present time is that of analyzing more completely than has yet been done the social psychology of the various forms of school and classroom group. The immediate pur-



pose might be thought of as facilitating and improving school controls. An ultimate and larger purpose, however, is to make of these school controls, in the largest possible measure, means of several kinds of valuable education. In this, as in other fields of control, it is highly desirable to diminish direct forms of coercion, to utilize to the full capacities for self-direction and for the "natural" development of the small group formations more or less instinctive in the young, and to utilize the school group life as a means of completely exemplifying as far as practicable, some of the larger forms of large group life later to be entered and shared in.

We still know very little, in a general and practicable way, about the social psychology of school groups—ranging from those of the kindergarten to those of the university, and from gangs or cliques to pleasure clubs. Here and there an educator of extraordinary social intuition has been able to establish and maintain more or less distinctive degrees of self-government, partly at least by the invisible exercise of a subtle and almost intangible authority. Like the saints of the great religions, however, he has been unable to transmit to disciples the secrets of his influences and achievements, notwithstanding that the progressive spirit of educators in such a country as America readily evokes a host of imitations. Here, as in many other fields of education, the real issues are beclouded, now by the overlying strata of traditionalism, and again by the pervasive mists of sentimentalism.

#### IV.

Another problem of utmost sociological significance at the present time, has to do with a determination of the qualitative characteristics of the several forms of learning sought through the education of our schools. From one

point of view this is more a problem for psychology than for sociology. Nevertheless, there are aspects of it that can only be dealt with through the analytical study of "values" as these are found in the societies about us. For example, there is an old adage, often made a slogan in schools, "Nothing is worth doing unless it is worth doing well." From the standpoint of our daily lives what does this really mean? Portions of the day of each of us are occupied with newspaper reading, listening to music, glancing over the pages of books, chatting with each other, leisurely looking at landscapes, and the like. In contrast, portions of the day of many of us are devoted to exacting and concentrated work in which we are conscious of applying to the maximum our stored energies and our definitely trained powers of execution. Is the adage referred to equally practicable in these two contrasted fields? If so, how should similar contrasts be made in the work of our schools? It would appear that the historical evaluation of education has put a premium almost constantly upon certain forms of closely knit and strenuously directed learning. It is sometimes alleged that modern education, in the lower grades at any rate, tends to swing to the opposite extreme. What are the facts?

Are we not here in the presence of a kind of pluralism of objectives? Some forms of learning in school, just like some forms of adult activity in life, should normally and properly be characterized by much concentration, exertion, and organization of powers that have been projected by prolonged earlier training. On the other hand, would it not be true in the school, as it certainly is true so often in life, that certain very natural, unforced, and even strongly appetitive processes should be expected to occupy time, and to contribute to the finer forms of growth—cultural or social, physical or vocational?

## SOCIALIZED LEISURE

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THE FORMULATION of the leisure problem of today involves four fields of investigation and research. There are: first, its relationship to the industrial order; second, the devices and methods employed in its exploitation, commercially and otherwise; third, the extent to which it affects the entire population; and fourth, the need for behavior patterns applicable to a growing democratic culture.

Specialization in industry tends to develop unilateral personalities, "occupational" rather than "social" types,<sup>1</sup> through the monotony and piece-meal nature of the work performed. "Dwarfed imaginations"<sup>2</sup> "defeated instincts," and "lost talents"<sup>3</sup> are some of the terms popular writers have used to characterize the effects of present day industrial occupations on the personality of the toiler. The pursuits of leisure offer the only opportunities of restoring the balance in life to those whose daily tasks involve little variety, adventure, responsibility or social contacts. If in the "sociological" sense of the term, "the normal life" is that in which "the four wishes"<sup>4</sup> are fulfilled, then much of the "social unrest" of the present day may be accounted for by the fact that neither the factory nor the market, neither the repair-shop nor the department store, provides for "new experience," "recognition" or "response,"

<sup>1</sup>R. E. Park, "The City," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, March 1915.

<sup>2</sup>C. D. MacKay, "Imaginative Recreation in Rural Districts," *The Playground*, April-October, 1920.

<sup>3</sup>J. Lee, "The Community. Home of Lost Talents," *The Playground*, August, 1919.

<sup>4</sup>R. E. Park and H. A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, 1921.

although they may satisfy the demand for "security" in the form of a "living wage."

The devices and methods employed in the exploitation of leisure comprise many mechanical inventions peculiar to our times alone: the cinematograph, the automobile and the speedway; the railroad, the trolley car and the aeroplane; the newspaper, pictorial magazine, and radio. The prevailing use made of these devices has extended "crowd" behavior and heightened "mobility." "The automobile," for example, "has created a psychology all its own, a psychology of movements, of impatience, of waste, of futility."<sup>5</sup> Society seems to have failed, so far, to derive social advantages from the leisure-time uses of these recently invented technical devices beyond ephemeral crowd expressions and pecuniary gains to traffickers.

The entire population, moreover, is deeply affected by the current leisure-time situation. The abbreviated working day for both government employees and professional groups, as well as the industrial classes, gives social sanction to the universal demand for "spare time." The "new leisure" is the birthright of everyone and not the exclusive privilege of a class. "The right to leisure"<sup>6</sup> expresses the "democratic idea" of our Revolutionary forefathers and guarantees "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to all.

The dearth of "behavior patterns" for the use of leisure applicable to a genetic democratic culture is conspicuous everywhere. The public lacks suitable customs for controlling the pursuits of leisure in the interest of the common welfare. Thanksgiving Day is "observed" by an intercollegiate football game; Washington's birthday is "celebrated" by an automobile race; and the Sabbath is "remembered" by a motor journey or a trolley trip. "New

<sup>5</sup>C. Darrow, *Crime*, p. 209.

<sup>6</sup>F. E. Kelly, *Some Ethical Gains Through Social Legislation*.

experience" is obtained; but at the cost of community association,—the noblest expression of the "we" feeling.

The types of ownership that seem to have been found satisfactory are five: private, mutual, philanthropic, public, and community. "Private" provision implies all manner of activity and facilities that an individual or family group own or engage in at personal expense: the home library, piano, victrola, radio, motor, yacht, camp or mountain cabin, as well as gardening, scenario writing, scientific research, or other productive occupation during "after school" or "after work" hours. "Mutual" provisions for leisure are co-operative; self-governing and self-sustaining entirely, and always group in nature: country clubs, picnics, bands, orchestras, parties at times and numerous other forms. "Philanthropic" provision for leisure, in the strictest sense of the term, signifies that by which both the original cost of equipment and the subsequent expense of operation are met from funds secured by donation or subscription without subsidy from taxation or other finances paid by those using the facilities. In this sense, the term is synonymous with "charitable" provision. It further implies that both the disbursement of the funds involved and the control of activities are in the hands of other than public officials or the beneficiaries. This type of administration has been found efficacious in communities lacking in co-operation or social initiative.

"Public"<sup>7</sup> administration of facilities for the use of leisure-time involves financial support exclusively derived from taxation and without additional revenue obtained from philanthropic or other sources. It also implies supervision by public officials whether elected by the people, appointed by an executive, or selected through competitive civil service examination. Parks, and public schools, with

<sup>7</sup>Cf. J. R. Richards, *An. Rep. South Park Commissioners, Chicago*, 1913, p. 45.

their various extension and recreational features, are examples.

"Community"<sup>8</sup> auspices, under which socialized leisure-time programs are being attempted, are found wherever non-sectarian, non-partisan, and non-commercial, "local associations" of residents in a given district finance or supervise an agency or institution either wholly at their expense or but partly so, as when use is made of a public school or park property and the local organization consciously correlataes its scheme of action with the appropriate branch of the municipal or county government. In the latter instance community provision is co-operative subsidy of public facilities and administration. It differs from mutual in that membership in the association is open to all residents of the locality and that it consciously seeks to extend the function of government in the support and control of the given local enterprises. Community "councils" and "centers" are usually permitted to charge admission fees to certain amateur entertainments, to collect membership dues, and to solicit funds for common purposes. But what is more characteristic, they are entrusted with the responsibility of deciding to what use the money procured by their efforts may be devoted.

No less varied than the method of administration, as defined above, are the types of activities which may occur within the field of socialized leisure pursuits. The common opinion, doubtless, is that all leisure time occurrences are "play." But play describes "those activities which are not consciously performed for the sake of any reward beyond themselves."<sup>9</sup> Obviously a mental attitude which involves immediate satisfaction only, does not characterize all socialized leisure-time activities; notwithstanding the fact that play includes "not merely children's play and

<sup>8</sup>Cf. M. M. Davis, *The Exploitation of Pleasure*, p. 60.

<sup>9</sup>J. Dewey, "Play," *Cyclopedia of Education*, 1914.

grown-up's sports, but many forms of so-called work."<sup>10</sup> "Work" is any activity voluntarily performed for the sake of some promised or desirable reward beyond itself; the "so-called work," that is often confused with play, may be either "recreation" or "art," or both, as well as play. "Recreation" is re-creation or restoration of depleted motor power or emotional state. It may be obtained by either play or work. In the former the agent participates either actually or imaginatively, while in the latter, only actually. "Amusement" is that form of play in which the agent participates only by imagination or mental assent. "Art" is an example of the work attitude, the satisfaction coming from without, in the form of social recognition in return for some approved exhibition of skill.<sup>11</sup> In the evolution of art there was produced the "games of skill,"<sup>12</sup> such as football, baseball, and other examples of the standard competitive exercises, when the mode of action became dissociated from the original experience that gave it birth. In this form, the mimetic and dramatic character was forgotten while the shell was retained. Games partake, therefore, of both art and work attitudes as well as those of play and recreation, as the interest of the participant shifts from activity for its own sake to some goal beyond the present. Thus both play and work, with their respective marginal terms are legitimate mechanisms for socializing leisure.

The test of any socialized behavior is to be seen, of course, in the results that accrue to participant and spectator and not in the *activity* or the *auspices* under which it is performed. In this way personal ideals may be harmonized with social welfare. It is the presence of the "we" feeling that discloses the fact of socialization. And the more inclusive and heterogeneous the group designated by "we" the greater the degree of socialized behavior.

<sup>10</sup>G. T. W. Patrick, *Psychology of Relaxation*.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. K. Groos, *Play of Man*, p. 394.

<sup>12</sup>L. E. Appleton, *A Comparative Study of the Play of Adult Savages and Civilized Children*, p. 51.

# THE MEXICAN POPULATION OF PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

CHRISTINE LOFSTEDT

*Pasadena*

PASADENA, California has a foreign population of Mexicans that is large enough to call for consideration, and small enough to be handled intelligently and effectively. In June, 1922, Pasadena had within its gates a total Mexican population of 1,736. This population can be divided into three groups.<sup>1</sup> The Southern Section is located in that narrow strip of land south of Colorado Street, traversed by two railroad tracks, having gas tanks, electric power plants, several factories, laundries, and a heterogeneous huddle of abodes. This small industrial section is the largest Mexican settlement, having 57 per cent of the entire population. The Northern Section is located north of Colorado Street, mostly toward the west, near the Grover Cleveland School District. The last group is that of Chihuahueta, which cannot be separated from the rest in a study of the Mexicans of Pasadena, lying as it does, east of the city limits of Pasadena, near the Foothill Boulevard. This community is under the jurisdiction of Los Angeles county, but the Pasadena City School System maintains a school of kindergarten and first grades. The older children go to the Emerson School, within the city limits. The Edna P. Alter Mexican Settlement of Pasadena includes this community, and other welfare organizations of Pasadena operate there.

<sup>1</sup>Based on a Survey that was made February 13 to June 1, 1922, under the auspices of the Pasadena Chamber of Commerce. Miss Edith Howard, B. S., Stanford University, conducted the Survey. Having been a teacher in Mexican Settlements, speaking the language, and being able to gain the confidence of the Mexicans, the result of Miss Howard's investigation is unquestionably as authentic as any that can be secured among these people.



Generally speaking the Mexican is individualistic. He is a mystic, loving the mysterious and the beautiful in nature. He has a subtle intuitive power in seeing the fitness of things. He is a lover of music, home, and children. "The quality of charity is nowhere more universal than in Mexico," says C. B. Nordhoff; and this is the Mexican's striking characteristic in the United States too. The real meaning of charity—love—is shown everywhere. A father with a family of nine children, became incensed when the authorities refused to allow him to adopt two orphans. The Mexican is exceedingly reticent and distrustful of strangers. But, if the stranger can gain his confidence, the Mexican is loyal and exceedingly hospitable. Formality and politeness are innate qualities. The one trait of his nature which is foreign to our temperament is his submission to existing conditions. He is childlike and can generally be directed into constructive activities for his own advancement.

These people of Mexico, who come to us with such worthy motives as work, and to secure better economic conditions for themselves and families, represent chiefly the peon class. In their veins flows the blood of two strong races. On the Spanish side, they are the inheritors of that indomitable courage that formed a barrier to the onslaught of the Mohammedans and saved Europe from Moslemism. On the native American side, they have occasion to be proud of the achievements which their race had made in the Western hemispheres, so that when the conquerors came, they found a land tilled, law and order prevailing, art of unquestionable merit, and a religious fervor highly developed. This Mexican race represents the original true American and the stalwart Spanish explorer of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Of the total number of Mexicans in Pasadena, 948 are males and 788 are females. Recent immigration accounts

for the preponderance of male population. There are 395 Mexican families. There are 973 adults over 14 years of age, of whom 549 are males and 424 are females. There are 763 Mexican children under fourteen years of age. Sixty-four Mexicans have the power of franchise in the United States while 701 are still voting citizens of their native country. Many of them, having had no need of exercising rights in government for centuries, have not wakened from the state of coma. A sense of inferiority and suppression seems to hold them back.

Of 973 adults over 14 years of age, 46 per cent speak English; 24 per cent speak only a little English, while 22 per cent of adults speak it well. The large per cent of those able to speak English is due to the fact that children, more than 14 years of age, are included in this report. There are a few who write legible script far superior to the average person, but the number who make "una cruz," when asked to sign blanks for state registration of children, is exceedingly large.

In making a livelihood, the wage earners are usually found doing general labor; work that takes patience, indifference to physical hardships, and a supreme satisfaction in doing the menial. Most of their work is in orchards, picking fruit, gardening, stone work, cement work, digging, hod carrying, and laundering. One day when the caretaker of the Junipero Serra School was sweeping, he said to one of the urchins, "You should learn your lessons well. When I was a little boy, I couldn't go to school, so now I am only a janitor." The brown eyes shone and the swarthy skin glowed with animation as he said with conviction, "Gee, a Mexican would think he was in heaven if he could be a janitor."

The land-hunger that is common to all progressive people is also felt among the Mexicans. It is interesting to note that 46 persons own their homes, while 13 own

the houses and rent the land. The large number of homes owned by residents of Chihuahuita is due to the comparative low price of real estate in that section. In the industrial section the price of land is prohibitive.

TABLE I<sup>2</sup>  
*Tenements*

| <i>Tenement</i>         | <i>Total</i> | <i>Per cent</i> |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| One room.....           | 51           | 16              |
| Two room.....           | 87           | 27              |
| Three room.....         | 83           | 25              |
| Four room.....          | 56           | 17              |
| Five or more rooms..... | 50           | 15              |
|                         | <hr/>        | <hr/>           |
| TOTAL                   | 327          | 100             |

TABLE II  
*Number of Persons in Tenements*

| <i>Tenement</i>        | <i>Total<br/>Individuals</i> | <i>Per cent</i> |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| One room.....          | 155                          | 9               |
| Two room.....          | 392                          | 23              |
| Three room.....        | 460                          | 26              |
| Four room.....         | 323                          | 19              |
| Five or more room..... | 406                          | 23              |
|                        | <hr/>                        | <hr/>           |
| TOTAL                  | 1,736                        | 100             |

The houses are of nondescript type, such as section houses, old houses vacated by people moving from the industrial section, hastily boarded up shacks, renovated barns, garages, tents and shacks made of old tin and scraps of lumber. The style of house need not affect the development of character, if the environment is conducive to the highest moral growth.

<sup>2</sup>Tables I-IV are made from the Pasadena Survey, 1922.

Very often the remark is heard, "What kind of house can Mexicans expect for the rent they pay?" It is true in money they pay only from \$5.00 to \$30.00 a month, but the crux of the situation is that they pay, for what they receive, too much money, too much in loss of health (due to unsanitary conditions), and too much loss of moral virtues, due to living conditions beyond their control.

TABLE III  
*Garbage Disposal*

| <i>Tenement</i>         | <i>Total Houses</i> | <i>Per cent</i> |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Collected by owner----- | 11                  | 4.4             |
| Collected by City-----  | 20                  | 8.0             |
|                         | <hr/>               | <hr/>           |
| TOTAL                   | 31                  | 12.5            |

The campaign for health involves the proper disposal of garbage. Table III indicates that only 31 Mexican houses of the total 248 houses, or only 12.5 per cent, have proper disposal of garbage.

TABLE IV  
*Modern Conveniences (Tenements)*

| <i>Tenement</i>     | <i>Total</i> | <i>Per cent</i> |
|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Water (inside)----- | 142          | 57              |
| Sinks -----         | 142          | 43              |
| Electricity -----   | 143          | 43              |
| Gas -----           | 167          | 51              |
| Baths -----         | 53           | 16              |

The modern conveniences are noticeably lacking. Of the 327 tenants, 57 per cent have water inside; 43 per cent have sinks; 43 per cent have electricity; 51 per cent have gas, and only 16 per cent have bath tubs. Improper dis-

posal of garbage, a general deficiency of fresh water, stagnant water standing about or thrown into the yard, and very limited bathing facilities make the conditions such that to rise above them requires Herculean power.<sup>3</sup>

The following description portrays the existing conditions commonly found:

Children had been coming to school regularly, clean and well-kept. One cold day, one was reported "Kept at home." A visit to the home revealed a deplorable state of affairs. The front house was occupied by two families. The house in the rear was an old barn divided into three tenements. One room 10x20 feet on first floor was the home of five persons. There were one small and two large beds. The ventilation was exceedingly poor, having only one small window and one glass door. Upstairs, with exit through the first tenement, was a large room 15x22 feet, with two large beds, in which four people slept. There was but one large window with upper panes broken. A glance upward revealed the sunlight streaming in through holes in the roof. During the night, there had been a heavy rainfall, and those holes admitting the golden rays of heaven, had also admitted bucketfuls of water, soaking the beds and all wearing apparel. In the apartment just below this were three poorly ventilated rooms. The water coming into the room above, had soaked the filth on the upper floor and had proceeded to the lower floor, where all bedding and clothing of the second occupants became wet and dirty. The child absent from school was obliged to be kept at home until the washing, which had been cleaned, ironed, and placed on chairs to be ready in the morning, could be washed and ironed again.

These two houses, with five families, have no electricity, no gas, no water, no bath, and but one outside flush toilet used by 28 persons. When the nurse from the City Health Department took up the matter of proper toilet facilities for such a large number of persons, she was met by this response from the legal administrator of the property: "Are there not some charitably minded people who can be asked to contribute toward a toilet?"

Books are very scarce. Only 37 Mexican families have even a few. The educational campaign for spreading general information and forming public opinion must begin with the children. For books, they seem to have a reverence which should be directed sympathetically and carefully. The insatiable desire by the young for books is one of the most inspirational incentives for the teacher.

Insurance policies are carried by 33 1-3 per cent of the 1,736 Mexicans. This voluntary act of the people is

<sup>3</sup>A family of twelve persons, the ages of children ranging from infancy to 20 years, live in a tent 12x14 feet, in which there are one large and two medium sized beds. The father works for \$2.50 per day.

highly commendable. The development of a true sense of economic values will avert the dangers of ill-advised investments. The Mexicans are often exploited in their attempts to be economically wise. For example, in Chihuahuita, a Mexican, who had an insurance policy and broke his leg recently, failed to receive any benefits.

One of the most encouraging experiences, is to see a group of Mexicans, squatting in primitive manner in a patio, listening intently and reverently to the classical arias from *Rigoletto*, *Carmen*, and *La Boheme*, which come forth in beautiful melodies from mandolin, guitar, violin or phonograph. If no musical instrument is at hand, the Mexicans sing gay or tragic songs with exquisite emotional expression and intensity characteristic of all Latin races. This is one of their contributions, and we, as Americans, may stimulate the potentialities that lie within this race of Southern temperament.

When modes or social customs or standards are considered, religion is found to be an inseparable factor. Centuries of repression have left the people submissive. In this country they meet unfamiliar modes of thinking and doing. Even their religion feels the onslaught of more progressive socialized ones. In Chihuahuita, there are two small churches—one Methodist and one Catholic. The Southern or Industrial Section has three churches—one Methodist, one Nazarene, and one Catholic. Pathos is exemplified in the many Mexicans who are having their childhood creed shattered, and who are hopelessly groping for some tenet that will give them assurance. For the foreigner, this is one of the critical periods of adjustment. This is one of the times when a friend with a strong sense of socialized religion, as embodied in the fundamental principles of Christianity, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, can do immeasurable good to promote understanding and sense of security for the wavering.

In the process of accommodation to the American environment the Mexican adjusts himself to his social *milieu* most readily when a friend, appreciating and understanding social problems and human nature, leads and directs him with sincerity and fairness.

In general, Mexicans do not seek aid until emergencies arise, because they are apathetic and accept most physical ailments as inevitable. After being treated Mexicans are reticent about returning for follow-up treatments as they are afraid and suspicious. The demoralizing effect of unwise philanthropy by indiscriminate giving, causing an undue economic burden and having a pauperizing effect, is practically unknown since the active social agencies are using scientific methods of investigation by trained and experienced administrators.

In spite of several drawbacks now found in the life of the Mexican community, the future holds in its hand possibilities that a few months ago would have been considered as a mad man's dream. This spring, the Board of Education accepted the bids for a new Junipero Serra School, which will function as a community center and the factor for the promotion of Americanization projects of the Spanish speaking neighborhood in the industrial section.<sup>4</sup>

The Mexicans within our gates present many unexpected characteristics. Their innate conservatism is shown by conformation to tradition and reverence for custom. To

<sup>4</sup>The building of this modern school plant exclusively for the Spanish speaking people is creating a good deal of interest among Mexicans everywhere. It will become one of the finest of its kind in America. Besides teaching the traditional "three R's" it is hoped that the training will include the "three H's"—namely—head, heart, and hand. The rudiments of trades and arts will be taught both children and adults. Since public health is the greatest asset in the nation's store of wealth, every effort will continue to be made to inculcate dynamic ideals and desires for wholesome living. The possibilities of carrying on community activities among the adults loom up in most glowing colors. The leaders among the Mexicans already come offering their assistance in promoting constructive programs for the advancement of their people. All they ask for, in economic, social and mental life, is an opportunity to bring out the best that they have to contribute.

friends they are very gracious and courteous but to strangers they are dignifiedly polite. In social phases involving imitation they are decidedly reproductive rather than assimilative. Instead of assuming responsibility, they prefer to accept authority. As they admire strength and sincerity, they will be faithful to a strong leader provided his firmness is based on fairness. The Mexican process of thinking is personal and since they are themselves keen and cunning, they are afraid and suspicious of others. The centuries of misunderstanding and tyranny have resulted in secretive and apathetic traits.

Human progress being measured by the increase of human happiness, our goal should be no less than that socialized condition in which every member of society will be able to live a complete life, and to contribute his share of accomplished work, without being hampered by destructive agencies. The native Americans should try to understand the struggle of a Mexican to adjust himself in a foreign land, to secure adequate employment so as to become self-supporting, and to have proper housing conditions, so that physically, mentally and morally, he may develop the highest latent possibilities. With the background of scientific methods and orientation, the various health departments, the Welfare Bureau, the Edna P. Alter Mexican Settlement, the churches, and the schools should be united social forces for constructive action in every phase of community life, to bring forth hitherto unseen potentialities in the Mexicans. When the chasms of distrust have been bridged by mutual understanding and helpfulness, Pasadena will pride herself on having within her gates representatives of the southern Republic who are here to make homes and partake in common interests of life. An understanding of the needs and the abilities of the strangers and a neighborliness as exemplified by the Good Samaritan, will bring the blessings of an abundant urban life.



# A STUDY OF FIFTY DELINQUENT BOYS

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THE BASIS of this study is found in fifty consecutive cases of delinquent boys all from a special school which came to the writer's notice while obtaining data for the research work as carried on by the Research Department of the Los Angeles City Schools under the specific direction of Willis W. Clark.

TABLE I  
*Order of Birth*

|                                   | DELINQUENTS |          | NORM  |          |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------|-------|----------|
|                                   | No.         | Per Cent | No.   | Per Cent |
| Oldest child in family-----       | 18          | 36       | 50    | 23.8     |
| Second oldest child-----          | 11          | 22       | 46    | 21.8     |
| Third oldest child-----           | 8           | 16       | 41    | 19.3     |
| Fourth oldest child-----          | 11          | 22       | 28    | 13.3     |
| Fifth oldest child-----           | 1           | 2        | 21    | 9.9      |
| Sixth oldest child-----           | —           | —        | 16    | 7.6      |
| Seventh oldest child and over---- | 1           | 2        | 9     | 4.3      |
|                                   | <hr/>       |          | <hr/> |          |
| TOTAL                             | 50          | 100      | 211   | 100.0    |
| Youngest -----                    | 15          | 30       | 50    | 23.8     |

The order of birth is significant and for the purpose of determining the significance of order of birth the relative position of the delinquent boys is compared with the chance of their being the oldest child, second oldest child, etc. The percentages given in the norm column were obtained by finding the order of birth of 211 children in the families of the cases under consideration. Thus it is seen

that the proportion of delinquent boys who are oldest in the family is larger than we would expect, by the ratio of 36-23.8. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that in all the cases of delinquency of the oldest child, except four, there are from three to eight younger brothers and sisters. Thus the mother must place upon the oldest lad more responsibility than he is able to take at such a youthful age. Or it may be that the oldest child has been "spoiled" or held down too strictly by the family. Again when there are so many younger children the mother has neglected her first born.

The youngest child often comes a close second in the scale of delinquency. It impresses the writer that the youngest child so very often has his own way at home that he cannot get along with his teachers and schoolmates. When he does not feel like going to school he just stays home.

Eight per cent, or four, of the fifty boys were "only children." The number of one-child families in this district is very small, in fact, much smaller than two or more children families, and hence the percentage of "only child" delinquents is relatively large, which may be partially explained by the fact that the only child tends to be spoiled by parental leniency.

TABLE II  
*Factors and Causes of Truancy*

|   | <i>Nos.</i> | <i>Per Cent</i> |
|---|-------------|-----------------|
| Did not like school because of "gang" participation---- | 21          | 42              |
| Wanted to work-----                                     | 15          | 30              |
| Stayed out because of holidays-----                     | 5           | 10              |
| Was sick and developed habit of staying home-----       | 2           | 4               |
| Stayed out to avoid examinations at school-----         | 5           | 10              |
| Miscellaneous factors -----                             | 5           | 10              |
| <b>TOTAL</b>  | <b>50</b>   | <b>100</b>      |

Table II is a statement of the most apparent causal factors of delinquency found in our study. Each reason in itself seems significant. In interviewing the principals of the various schools, but more especially the schools where there is a large percentage of foreign born children, the prevailing opinion is that the foreign holidays are a big hindrance in obtaining the best results in the class room, for example: Mrs. A. teaches a class in which there are ten Jewish boys, thirteen Russian, four Armenian, and five American lads, making a total of thirty-two children. On Monday perhaps the Russian children stay out to celebrate some one of their religious holidays leaving nineteen to go on with the regular work. The following day the teacher must either hold back the nineteen that were present while she goes over the work the thirteen who were absent missed, or else allow the Russian boys to remain behind. Perhaps the following week a Jewish holiday occurs and the ten Jewish children are absent. Then the Armenians celebrate a holiday thus leaving the five American lads the only consistent ones in the group. This constitutes a big problem. Can we allow those who come to our country from a foreign land to maintain their old customs thus breaking up our system and taking more time from the teacher than should be allotted to them? On the other hand can we demand that these customs and traditions which have become a part of the beliefs of these foreign born neighbors to be cast aside? The general feeling is that our traditions and customs should be respected and ultimately be perfected and replace those brought from foreign lands. This process will take time, but until the parents of these foreign children are made to realize how detrimental it is to the welfare of their children to have so many holidays of their own, our school system cannot be perfected. Not only does the holiday keep the boy or girl out on that particular day, but it makes the

child grow weary and restless at school and before long the Board of Education has a truant child to deal with.

The influence of the "gang" as our table shows is very important. Again, during the adolescence the "gang spirit" is strongest in a boy. It is the boy's natural tendency to want to be with other boys and form clubs. The lad rather than be ostracised from his clique or gang will do what he knows to be wrong. When we have found a means to eliminate the wrong kind of gang and encourage good wholesome gang spirit we will have accomplished much toward the elimination of delinquency. No red blooded boy will permit his gang to call him a "sissy" or to put him out of their gang. He would rather accept the punishment inflicted upon him by authority no matter how severe it be rather than that by the boys of the gang.

We find that the second most prominent causal factor in delinquency in the group which was studied is the problem of work. When boys reach a certain age they are filled with the desire to forsake all else and work. They wish to be independent. This is a characteristic of adolescent boys and must be met in an interesting way. Adolescence is the change from boyhood to manhood and in many boys it manifests itself first in the uncontrollable desire to be free and dependent upon themselves only in all things. To meet this problem the school curriculum must be such that will hold the interest of the boy and help him to realize the importance of going to school. Another factor which enters in is that the parents, especially of the class of boys used for this study, need the help and support which the boys are able to give. Usually there is a large family with the father, whose wages are low, as the only means of support. Again it is the custom in many foreign countries to send the boys out to work as soon as they are big enough to do so. All of these factors enter in to make the problem of "wanting to work" a big one.

TABLE III  
*Parental status of the fifty delinquent boys*

|                                     | Nos   | Per Cent |
|-------------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Parents living together-----        | 30    | 60       |
| Father dead, child with mother----- | 5     | 10       |
| Mother dead, child with father----- | 5     | 10       |
| Both parents dead-----              | 4     | 8        |
| Parents separated or divorced-----  | 6     | 12       |
|                                     | <hr/> | <hr/>    |
| TOTAL                               | 50    | 100      |

Table III shows that forty per cent of the fifty cases studied come from broken homes. This fact alone is very significant for it seems to show that the per cent of boys coming from broken homes is considerably larger than the proportion of broken homes and non-broken homes in general, which is about 25 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Out of the thirty cases in which the boys come from homes where the parents are living together, it is interesting to note that in thirty-three and one-third per cent both of the parents are working. The child is thus free to roam as he wills and is left unsupervised all day. When the mother returns home in the evening after her day's work she is tired and does not have the patience or energy to give her children the time they require and so they are left to choose their own companions and amusements and thus gradually creep away from parental control altogether.

In this study eighteen per cent of the delinquent boys are in their normal grades, while eighty-two per cent of the boys are retarded. Some are very badly retarded. We find four boys of fifteen doing the work expected of nine and ten year old boys. These facts lead the writer to conclude that retardation is a direct factor in delinquency. Whether retardation causes delinquency or whether de-

<sup>1</sup>Shideler, "Family Disintegration," *Jour. of Criminal Law and Criminology*, VIII:708.

linquency causes retardation is a problem of its own and cannot be determined in this study. However, it is interesting to note that educational test results show that very few of these boys have average ability for the grades in which they are classified.

TABLE IV<sup>2</sup>

| <i>Ages</i> | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | <i>Total</i> |
|-------------|----|----|----|----|----|--------------|
| Grade X     | —  | —  | —  | —  | 1  | 1            |
| Grade IX    | —  | —  | 2  | —  | 2  | 4            |
| Grade VIII  | —  | 1  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 10           |
| Grade VII   | —  | —  | 1  | 1  | —  | 2            |
| Grade VI    | 2  | 4  | 7  | 2  | 1  | 16           |
| Grade V     | 2  | —  | 2  | 2  | —  | 6            |
| Grade IV    | —  | 2  | —  | 4  | 2  | 8            |
|             | —  | —  | —  | —  | —  | —            |
| TOTAL       | 4  | 7  | 15 | 12 | 9  | 47           |

The conclusions of this study are that the following items are of great importance in studying delinquency:

1. Parental status: boys coming from broken homes are more often delinquent than those coming from good wholesome homes.

2. Causes of delinquency: the gang spirit operates very strong in adolescent boys for either good or bad.

3. Order of birth likewise affects delinquency in so far that the oldest and youngest child tend to be more delinquent than do the other children.

4. Delinquent boys as a whole are greatly retarded in their grades at school.

<sup>2</sup>Three of the boys were ungraded.

## Book Notes

OUTLINES OF SOCIOLOGY. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. Century Company, 1923, pp. xiii+474.

Professor Ross has rewritten and condensed his *Principles of Sociology* into a textbook about two-thirds the size of the larger work. The new book has the same excellent analysis of the subject into social population, social forces, social processes, social products, and sociological principles, as the older treatise, and the same fifty-seven chapters but in compressed form. The author has added sets of "quiz questions" and "exercises" to each chapter. The former are used for "sharp quizzing" and the latter are to be answered in writing and read in class, followed by cross-examination and discussion. In this way careful thinking is secured each time before the student comes to class, as well as quick thinking in class. The student thus is encouraged to do as much thinking for himself as possible and to depend lazily on other people's thinking as little as possible. As a textbook the new *Outlines* represents a distinct advance over the *Principles* although the latter will remain more useful in a larger sense because of its fuller treatment of sociology.

E. S. B.

THE KINGDOM OF EVILS. By the late E. E. SOUTHARD, and MARY C. JARRETT. Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xx+707.

In this "record of experience with comment" in the field of psychiatric social work the authors have presented 100 cases of individuals who were psychiatric patients. They are representative of the "three major spheres" of social work, namely, public or governmental, social or voluntary, individual or personal; they fall into five groups of social trouble, namely, diseases, educational deficiencies, vices, legal entanglements, and poverty; and they illustrate eleven major groups of mental diseases.

Th authors show how the doctor and social worker may co-operate, and how far psychiatric social work has been developing. Psychiatry bids fair to become a main if not the chief field of social work, for mental adjustments are basic to all problems of life. The treatise is a valuable source book and will help in building up the science of psychiatry.

E. S. B.

MAN AND CULTURE. By CLARK WISSLER. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1923, pp. xi+371.

This work is one of first rank in the field of anthropology. Instead of being devoted to details it develops ideas of culture areas, culture traits, culture building, genesis of culture, diffusion of culture, rates of culture diffusion, rationalization of culture processes. It emphasizes "modes of living" and the interactions between them and the development of individuals. The author discusses three theories of culture and acquisition, the independent origins theory, the borrowing theory, and the convergence, but refuses to become an advocate.

The style is clear, the method is thoroughly scientific, and the viewpoint is broad and considerate of all other viewpoints. Rarely does one find a work in anthropology that gets at fundamentals, as judged by present societary needs, as satisfactorily as does Dr. Wissler. Under his guidance the subject of culture becomes fascinating and scientifically enlightening.

E. S. B.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EUGENICS. Vol. I, *Eugenics, Genetics and The Family*, pp. x+439, 24 plates; Vol. II, *Eugenics in Race and State*, pp. ix+472, 20 plates. Williams & Wilkins Co., Baltimore, 1923.

These volumes contain the addresses and papers presented at the Second International Congress of Eugenics held in New York, September, 1921. The results of recent investigations in the field of genetics are brought together. This gives an insight into the phenomenal progress made in the past twenty years in the field of heredity. Several papers give the results of researches on families and the results in human matings, differential fecundity, inbreeding, etc. Several papers treat of race crossings and of the relation of eugenics to various social problems.

W. C. S.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD: *A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio*. By R. D. MCKENZIE. University of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. ix+112.

In this reprint from the *American Journal of Sociology* of the articles containing the author's dissertation for the doctorate, the reader will find in convenient form not only important social data about an American city, but also a model for the study of the "neighborhood" as a sociological phenomenon.



THE HISTORY OF UTOPIAN THOUGHT. By JOYCE O. HERTZLER. Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. 321.

Dr. Hertzler has rendered a splendid service to all students of the history of social thinking in this work. He analyzes the utopian thought of certain of the Hebrew prophets, of Plato's *Republic*, More's *Utopia*, and the related group of utopias, the socialist utopias of the nineteenth century, and recent utopias such as Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, and Well's *Modern Utopia*. In four valuable concluding chapters the author presents the strong and weak points of utopian social thought. His evaluations from the sociological standpoint are sound, helpful, sympathetic, and constructive. He finds in Utopian thought, which is now passing, the idealism of sincere, courageous men, desirous of bringing about a better social day.

E. S. B.

PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES. Collected by HASTINGS H. HART. Russell Sage Foundation, 1922, pp. 62.

This publication brings together a collection of noteworthy plans for prisons, both proposed and in process of construction. The list includes state prisons, reformatories for women, reformatories for boys and a metropolitan jail. These plans present some universal or improved features such as new types of all houses, clinical, laboratories, improved lighting, ventilation and sanitation. These prisons show a tendency in the direction of providing humane treatment for the prisoners.

W. C. S.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY. By EDWIN S. HARTLAND, Methuen & Co., London, 1921, pp. 180.

During recent years much research has been carried on to determine how and along what lines social development has taken place. This author concludes that a large part, if not the whole, of the human race has passed through, or is actually passing through the stage in which the mother alone and not the father, is regarded as the stock of descent and the source of kinship. A considerable mass of materials shows that the mother-right form of social organization is still found among some of the lowest races now extant and is not entirely absent even among some civilized peoples.

W. C. S.

**HORNY HANDS AND HAMPERED ELBOWS.** By WHITING WILLIAMS. Scribner's Sons, 1922, pp. xi+285.

Following his practice in the United States and in England, Mr. Williams visited France, Belgium, and Germany in the summer of 1921 and sought work as a laborer in the mines and mills, in an attempt to get at "the worker's mind in Western Europe." He found in France a deadly fear of Germany; in Germany, a fierce hatred of France; everywhere a war sickness and almost fatalistic desire for "normalcy." The League of Nations in session seemed to be the one bright spot. The aloofness of the United States was everywhere misunderstood and condemned. The author philosophizes a great deal on economic and social questions, and as a rule, in a sane and stimulating way. His basic principle is that a people's way of living effects infinitely more their thinking than their thinking effects their living.

E. S. B.

**FACING OLD AGE.** By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN. Alfred A. Knopf, 1922, pp. xiv+353.

In this scholarly and painstaking work there has been brought together a comprehensive collection of facts concerning the conditions of the aged, causes of old age dependency, existing methods of relief, and old age pension systems in various countries. The author offers eight causes of old age dependency, of which four are "individual" and four socio-economic and moral. The author presents countless facts, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. This excellent treatise needs to be supplemented by a discussion of methods of changing the economic and social system so as to prevent most old age dependency.

E. S. B.

**THE POPULATION PROBLEM: A STUDY IN HUMAN EVOLUTION** By A. M. CARR SAUNDERS. Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 516.

The author views the whole population problem from an historical and evolutionary point of view. He takes up the methods of regulation of numbers among primitive as well as among historical races, and shows that the necessity of solving the quantitative problem has had a profound effect upon society at all times. In the past the solution has been more or less unconsciously achieved, but now these problems are being deliberately considered.

W. C. S.

LABOR TURNOVER IN INDUSTRY By P. F. BRISENDEN and E. FRANKEL. Macmillan Company, pp. xiv+215.

In this statistical study of labor turnover, based on inquiries covering 260 establishments and 500,000 workers in seventeen of the most important industrial states of our country, the authors have produced an authentic, scientific, and comprehensive analysis of labor turnover, which is identified with (1) the number of employees hired, (2) the number leaving and (3) the number of replacements. Labor mobility is discussed with reference to localities, to different industrial groups, to size of establishment, to sex, to day and night force, to skilled and unskilled employees, to seasonal fluctuations, and to length of service. Standard forms are given whereby employers may analyze their labor turnover problems with precision. This monograph is a valuable source study in statistics, economics, and sociology.

E. S. B.

THE LAW OF CITY PLANNING AND ZONING. By FRANK B. WILLIAMS, LL. B. New York Bar. Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xvii+783.

The standpoint of this book is found in laws that have been operating in the United States and Europe. The volume shows what the laws are and how they have been interpreted regarding such themes as: condemnation of land, zoning, esthetic planning, city planning finance, and planning administration. The treatment from the legal point of view is scholarly and exhaustive. An extensive bibliography, many tables of statutes, an index of cases, and an index of statutes are appended. This extended work might well be supplemented by an equally comprehensive sociological analysis of the same field.

E. S. B.

THE ITALIANS IN AMERICA. By PHILIP M. ROSE. George H. Doran Co., 1922, pp. vii+155.

Rev. P. M. Rose, pastor of the first Italian Congregational Church, Hartford, Connecticut, touches upon Italian backgrounds and outlines economic, social, and educational facts about Italian-Americans in the light of the religious needs of these peoples, and gives religious and social programs for them from the Protestant viewpoint. The author urges that American theological students and pastors study sociology.

**SOCIAL CIVICS.** By W. B. MUNRO and C. E. OZANNE. Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xiii+697.

In this book for high school use the main theme is American government. A brief analysis of human society, of races in the United States, and economic factors is given first. Then, the organization of government is traced through historical foundations, the electoral system, state and local governments. Special economic, social, and economic problems are treated in Part III in sixteen chapters. The book is authentic, clear, and interesting. It stresses content and a social point of view more than does the ordinary book on civics, although this emphasis might safely be increased by the authors. The structure and organization of government receive undue attention in relation to the content and spirit of citizenship. Social problems are somewhat submerged behind economic questions. The closing three chapters on international relations are the best part of the book. There are ample "aids" in the form of general references, "group" problems, short studies, questions, and topics for debate at the end of each chapter.

E. S. B.

**IF AMERICA FAILS.** By SAMUEL Z. BATTEN. Judson Press, Philadelphia, 1922, pp 265.

Dr. Batten demonstrates his ability as a prophet and writes with all the vigor and earnestness of an Isaiah or Amos. He speaks words of warning to his beloved America. After analyzing the rise and fall of nations, he discusses American conditions in relation to the basic principles of national growth. He deplores the emphasis on materialism, and capitalism, points out the resultant injustice, and urges democratic and Christian programs with human welfare and spirituality standards always being put foremost.

**THE CHRISTIAN IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS.** By D. F. DIEFENDORF. Methodist Book Concern, 1922, pp. 125.

In this study book for young people and adults in the Sunday School the author sets forth simply and helpfully some of the main responsibilities of the Christian relative to the wage problem, public health, amusements, crime, political responsibility, world progress.

THE IMMIGRANT'S DAY IN COURT. By KATE H. CLAGHORN.  
Harper & Bros., 1923, pp. xvi+546.

In the ninth volume in the Americanization Series edited by Allen T. Burns, the scientific and scholarly standard characteristic of the Series is maintained. The immigrant is followed into court with his "money troubles," and "family troubles." The attitudes of the courts toward immigrants are examined; the immigration law in its various operations is scrutinized. Legal Aid Societies and other private organizations that aid the immigrant are given a chapter.

On the whole, the immigrant experiences many difficulties in the courts, especially the minor courts, in securing justice, and his loyalty and the loyalty of his friends to our country thereby suffers. The author urges (a) modifications in our legal system so that it may more adequately secure justice for immigrants; (b) education of the immigrant, so that he may avoid difficulties; and (c) education of American sentiment about the immigrant so that his problems may be better understood.

E. S. B.

THE FAMILY AND ITS MEMBERS. By ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.  
J. B. Lippincott Co., 1923, pp. 322.

The author sets forth the monogamic family as a priceless heritage from the past, which should and can be preserved, but in order to do so many time-worn customs must be modified to meet present-day demands. The present trend toward democracy with its emancipation of women and other developments, has disorganized the traditional male-dominated family but out of this chaos a higher type of family is gradually evolving. Various experiments of recent years show that certain changes are taking place which are making the necessary adjustments to the new social conditions. The author offers several suggestions for further improvement.

W. C. S.

THE CLEVELAND YEAR BOOK. Cleveland Foundation, 1922,  
pp. 254.

In this second annual summary of "events and progress in Cleveland" for 1922, edited by Mildred Chadsey, a useful compendium for Cleveland people and a worthy example for other communities to follow has been produced. This annual social inventory which includes data concerning progress in matters of government, criminal justice, industry, education, public health, recreation, the arts, religion, deserves a wide consideration.

THE FAMILY. By HELEN BOSANQUET. Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. vii+344.

The publishers are to be congratulated on bringing out an American edition of this well known English work. The first seven chapters are a historical treatment and are based in part on the research work of scholars such as George Elliott Howard. The last eight chapters constitute a valuable psychological analysis of family life, and of the functions of the man, the woman, the children and the grandparents in the family.

NEGRO YEAR BOOK. By MONROE N. WORK, Editor. Negro Year Book Publishing Co., Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1922, pp. vii+495.

This sixth annual edition of the Negro Year Book contains much post-war material regarding the Negro and his attitudes. It undoubtedly is "the standard book of reference on all matters relating to the Negro and is the most extensively used compendium on this subject."

THE GREEKS IN AMERICA. By J. P. XENIDES. George H. Doran Co., pp. ix+160.

The author takes the reader rapidly over the European background of the Hellenes, and then introduces him to some of the main facts concerning the economic, social, educational conditions of the Greeks in the United States, giving special attention to the evangelical work among the Greeks by Protestant churches.

VITAL STATISTICS. By GEORGE C. WHIPPLE. John Wiley & Sons, 1923, second edition, pp. 579.

This edition of a standard work is built on the 1920 census. While the book is written for students who are preparing themselves to be public health officials, it is also an excellent introduction to the science of demography which is defined as a statistical study of human life. As a treatise on the elementary principles of statistical methods it ranks high, being unusually clear in its explanations. It contains splendid chapters on birth rates, marriage rates, and death rates.

E. S. B.

## Periodical Notes

*From the Home to the House.* The movement toward the political emancipation of woman should result in a higher type of civilization than that of the present time, if she will project her "mother attitude" to the whole world. Viscountess Astor, *World's Work*, April 1923, 658-664.

*International Efforts for Prevention of Traffic in Women and Children.* Vigorous efforts are being made by a number of nations to control the white slave traffic, both in and between countries, efforts which have been supported by the League of Nations Conference, and which emphasizes especially the rousing of public opinion. Bascom Johnson, *Jour. of Social Hygiene*, April, 1923, 200-215.

*Revolt of the New Immigrant.* The Eastern European immigrant has been changed by American industry and standards from the docile, self-effacing laborer of ten years ago into the aggressive, self-protecting worker of today. Maurice G. Hindus, *Century*, April, 1923, 847-854.

*The Problem of War.* War cannot be sufficiently accounted for by referring to psychological motives such as hatred, blood-lust, or aggressive pugnacity. It is just as important that we investigate the economic, social and political conditions under which these motives operate. Milton Harrison, *International Jour. of Ethics*, April, 1923, 307-315.

*Greatness in Women.* In order to be truly great, a woman must be maternal—working for others—prophetic in her modes of action, and also greatly endowed. One of the facts which account for the lack of many outstanding women in history is their lack of ability to collect and organize a group of followers about themselves. We do not readily recognize our women leaders because modern social organization is not such as to make them conspicuous. Mary Austin, *North American Review*, Feb. 1923, 197-203.

*Should the Visiting Teacher Be a New Official?* There is a great need in the schools today for trained social workers who will be able to get into close contact with home conditions of the pupils and thus be able to solve some of the problems which are presented by the delinquent, defective, and otherwise exceptional child. Anna B. Pratt, *Jour. of Social Forces*, March 1923, 300-304.

*Community Organization and the Crowd Spirit.* There is a tendency at the present time to place reliance upon the emotional appeal rather than upon the intellectual when an issue is to be decided. The crowd spirit dominates in nearly all phases of life. One of the chief characteristics of the community organization movement to present day society is its emphasis upon working with groups rather than through crowds. Jesse F. Steiner, *Jour. of Social Forces*, March 1923, 221-226.

*Government in Relation to Sociology and Social Progress.* There is needed at the present time a new orientation of political science which should bring it into touch with the larger social teachings of today. The chief emphasis in government must be taken from antique formalism and traditions and be placed upon the function of the state to further the general welfare, spiritual as well as material. J. Q. Dealey, *Jour. of Social Forces*, March 1923, 209-213.

*Censorship of the Movies.* With the constant growth of the motion picture industry there is an increasing demand for censorship. The motion picture is conceded to be far more influential as an educational factor than is the public school teacher, for it reaches literate and illiterate alike. The interests of purity, cleanmindedness and public welfare all demand that such money-making propositions be regulated. Joseph Levenson, *The Forum*, April 1923, 1404-1414.

*The Ku Klux Klan: Its Social Origin in the South.* The Ku Klux Klan is the product of several facts. (1) It is the embodiment of a tradition. (2) It expresses a deep-rooted social habit—that of ready violence in defence of a threatened social status. This was augmented by the war which did much toward freeing the Negro from traditional bonds. (3) It is an outlet for the cramped emotions of a small-town people. Its greatest evil is that it generates emotional distortion and habits of violence. Frank Tannenbaum, *Century*, April 1923, 873-882.



*Sociology, a Basic Science to Education.* Sociology can make a valuable contribution to the field of education by helping to choose those subjects which are most essential in the curriculum in order that the pupil may become a truly social citizen. David Snedden, *Teachers' College Record*, March 1923, 95-110.

*The Problem of Liberty.* The only way in which true freedom may be obtained is through the development of rational community of interests among people, and a feeling of unity of spirit which will lead them to subordinate their own differences for the maintenance of a common understanding. Norman Wilde, *International Jour. of Ethics*, April 1923, 291-306.

*The Foundations of Social Psychology.* Social psychology, if it is to be a legitimate science, must have a different basis from the one which has been accorded in the past. A reasonable basis for the subject is made up of the social desires of mankind. Knight Dunlap, *Psychological Review*, March 1923, 81-102.

*Motives in Radicalism and Social Reform.* Many people are engaged in radical social reforms simply as an outlet for suppressed tendencies and emotions. Under changed circumstances these radicals may entirely lose their former enthusiasm. Stuart A. Rice, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, April 1923, 577-585.

*Social Evolution and Christianity.* Religion has always taken its ideas from the past social process. The type which was dominant in primitive times was produced by the hunting tendencies of men and resulted in a barbaric and predatory system of life. Christianity however, emphasizes the type produced by the main interest of women, that is, sympathetic child-care, and attempts to universalize this pattern-idea so that the whole world may be considered of one family. Charles A. Ellwood, *Jour. of Religion*, March 1923, 113-131.

*Servitude and Progress.* Where there is a close personal relationship between employer and employee, such as in body service, industry on a small scale, etc., the employee tends to identify himself with the employer, and to have a personal interest in the welfare of the business, even though his own compensation be very meager. M. M. Willey and M. J. Herskovits, *Jour. of Social Forces*, March 1923, 228-234.

*The Social Heritage and World Education.* Progress can come only through the improvement and transmission of the culture, ideals, customs, habits of action, etc., which go to make up the social heritage. Transmission of the social heritage is the great task of education. The power of such education is so great that if educators the world over could come to agree on a universal curriculum which should be taught, the world could be reformed in one generation. Ira W. Howerth, *The Educational Review*, Feb. 1923, 69-74.

*The Farmer and the Factory Hand.* It has long been the popular idea that the farmer works longer hours and for less pay than the man in the factory. Investigations seem to show, however, that, taking the number of hours of labor throughout the year into consideration, the farmer works only about eight hours a day, six days in the week. Considering his house rent, garden truck, etc., his yearly receipts also compare favorably with those of the factory worker. Arthur Pound, *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1923, 145-151.

*The Iron Man.* Modern machine industry has a deadening effect on man spiritually, mentally, and physically. Its only redeeming feature is that it gives more leisure. It is our task to see that this leisure time is so spent as to give to each member of society as full and rich a life as possible. At the present time leisure is usually spent in a mad rush for pleasure with the mistaken idea that it will give relief from the strain of work. Arthur Pound, *Playground*, Jan. 1923, 445-450.



MODERN physical science has now put such terrible agencies of destruction in the hands of man that good will is needed as never before if men are not mutually to destroy one another. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 117.

OUR VERY thoughts are created in what we call the social atmosphere, where one mind reacts against another. Here is most certainly the contact between the individual and the culture of his group. Wissler, *Man and Culture*, p. 321.

## Round Table Notes

NO THOUGHT is safe that would shut thought out. Batten, *If America Fails*, p. 62.

A FIXED CULTURE is a dead one, in this or any other age. Wissler, *Man and Culture*, p. 328.

WERE IT NOT for the constant inflow of fresh blood from below, the nobility would soon pass. Batten, *If America Fails*, p. 65.

FOR THIS AGE America enshrines the largest mass of living interests entrusted to any one nation. Batten. *If America Fails*, preface.

THE STRENGTH of human groups consists in extending and intensifying their power to co-operate. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 167.

IN A LARGE community we can choose our companions. In a small community our companions are chosen for us. Bosanquet, *The Family*, p. 245.

MEN AND NATIONS are ever passing before a moral judgment-seat, and the doom that falls is of man's own making. Batten, *If America Fails*, p. 23.

THE THING to strive for is social progress, not social perfection; incessant becoming, not stagnant being. Hertzler, *History of Utopian Thought*, p. 308.

IT APPEARS then that the evolution of culture has proceeded by the nationalization of habits based upon inborn qualities, or behavior. Wissler, *Man and Culture*, p. 326.

PROBABLY at a moderate estimate, forty per cent of the total area of the city today should be devoted to public uses. Williams, *The Law of City Planning and Zoning*, p. 43.

IT IS NOT a knowledge of his specialty which makes an expert of service to society, but his insight into the relation of his specialty to the whole. Follett, *The New State*, p. 64.

A PARADE of inequality makes hungry men desperate. Platt, *Psychology of Social Life*, p. 121.

THE TRUTH seems to be that the spirit of peace, like most good things, will become effective only through *organization*. Case, *Non-Violent Coercion*, p. 8.

THE ABSOLUTE abolition of any paid service of any attorney in the interest of getting anyone a divorce is a primary social demand. Spencer, *The Family and its Members*, p. 239.

IN A word, the "intelligence" ratings probably measure native capacity *plus* environmental contributions, and not native endowment alone, as seems to be all too commonly supposed. Case, *Non-Violent Coercion*, p. 273.

EVEN A cursory study of the living world would justify the opinion that evolution has proceeded in all directions; crab-like it moves forward, backward, and sidewise. A. G. Keller, in *The Evolution of Man*, p. 159.

I SYMPATHIZE with the producer to this extent—I am sorry that he is sometimes subject to the whims of dishonest and inefficient examiners and yet I have almost never seen the "industry" give its support to the intelligent man or woman in the service. Oberholtzer, *The Morals of the Movie*, p. 154.

FROM Czechoslovakia came a family a year ago filled with hope for a better life, but at Ellis Island man put asunder what God had joined together, and the husband and father was deported because he had never learned to read, although he had a good trade. The wife could read, therefore she and her children were allowed to land in the care of relatives. Annie Marion MacLean, *Our Neighbors*, p. 15.

AMERICANS who have in the past spurned, despised, and avoided the "immigrants" are now busying themselves with their Americanization. Having by their own attitude done all that they could to keep these people foreign, they would now forcibly press upon them those ideas, ideals, and standards which they have withheld from them in the past. K. D. Miller, *The Czecho-Slovaks in America*, p. 112.

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## Editorial Notes

SOCIOLOGY COURSES in high schools are noticeably on the increase. In a recent study by Harry H. Moore it is shown that 29 per cent of 6,624 schools reporting were teaching sociology courses in 1921-22 as compared with 5 to 8 per cent in 1918-19. The enrollment in sociology courses in the "29 per cent" was 37,541 pupils.

"A SAVING WAGE" is a better slogan than A Living Wage. If a man cannot earn more than enough to live on he soon becomes dissatisfied with his employers and with the economic system of which he is a part. If he can save, then his sense of independence is appeased and he is willing to accept many minor injustices for the time being.

DR. CLARENCE M. CASE, chairman of the Department of Sociology, State University of Iowa, and author of *Non-Violent Coercion* (Century, 1923) has been elected professor of sociology at the University of Southern California, where he will develop courses in advanced subjects such as "Social Values" and "Social Progress."

THE DECISION of the United States Steel Corporation to eliminate the twelve hour day is distinctly encouraging. Other large steel companies in this country have found the eight hour day feasible. In all leading Christian countries the twelve hour day is authentically reported (by A. W. Taylor) as abandoned in behalf of the more humane eight hour day.

WHEN THE governor of New York made effective the repeal of the state prohibition enforcement law he caused all the forces of evil in the land to rejoice. Bootleggers, dive-keepers, immoral women, all the anti-social elements, were made happy. The governor's unfortunate decision, however, will put new life into the movement to support President Harding in his favorable attitude toward the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.

THE ORGANIZATION of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology occurred recently at Cleveland and represents a forward movement that is deserving of wide support. The leaders in the movement are David Snedden, Frederick R. Clow, Walter L. Smith, Ross L. Finney, and C. C. Peters. It is to be hoped that the new organization will not be satisfied with "social" concepts but will be grounded upon sociological principles.

THERE IS now in process of formation The National Federation of Uncle Sam's Voters, which is a non-profit organization for the purpose of awakening and sustaining a lively and intelligent interest in all local, state, national and international questions. In order to stimulate popular participation in governmental affairs, local assemblies—patterned after the New England town meeting—will be organized everywhere, enabling citizens of the community to discuss their political, social, and economic problems. This organization is not bound to any political party nor to any "movement" or "cause." It has no propaganda to preach. Its sole purpose is to provide citizens everywhere with the means for meeting and discussing their problems. It will endeavor to enlighten and encourage young men and women approaching voting age and aliens eligible for citizenship.

## World Notes

THE EUROPEANIZATION of the world has lost its momentum. The World War augmented the spirit of nationalism in nearly all countries with the result that India, Turkey, Egypt, the Philippines, the South American republics, as well as China and Japan, are asking, if not demanding, autonomy regarding changes in their cultures and traditions.

THE OPIUM COMMITTEE of the League of Nations has reported against the raising of poppies except for scientific and medicinal purposes throughout the world. Although this report makes exemptions in favor of those countries profiting pecuniarily by the production of opium, yet the whole procedure is an augury of the day when problems of world concern will be settled by world convictions.

IN GERMANY the children are being taught to hate France and are growing up with ideas of revenge. The children of France are also being taught to fear and hate Germany, and thus the seeds of new wars are being sown. The problem is one that neither France nor Germany can solve alone. It calls for a world procedure. National educational systems are like wise helpless; a world educational program is needed.

AN AMERICAN correspondent from Chita, Russia, writes: "There are only three other foreigners in this city of 135,000 or more people. We have a Red Flag flying over us. Business is going on in a normal way, and the people as a whole seem satisfied with conditions. The soviets have two worthy aims in (a) securing education and (b) emphasizing the welfare of children. Ignorance, lack of sanitation, and filth abound."

"TURKEY GOES DRY" is an unexpected movement. With prohibition already in effect in Anatolia and soon to be applied in Constantinople there is evidence that the fight against alcoholic liquor is "encircling our planet." In this connection the *Living Age* asserts that Turkey's determination to prohibit the liquor traffic in her land is one of "the obstacles to a speedier settlement of diplomatic difficulties between France and that country."

THE STRUGGLE in the Ruhr Valley between passive resistance on one hand and military control on the other hand has surprised the world as a large scale form of international conflict. The French military authorities have been baffled in the same way that the English military leaders have been nonplussed in dealing with the followers of Gandhi. Moreover, it is unique that in the erstwhile leading military nation of the world there should develop a widespread national movement of passive resistance.

THE PRESENCE of 7,494 foreign students enrolled in the institutions of higher learning in the United States for the year 1922-23, according to a report of the Institute of International Education, is a hopeful sign regarding the development of a world community of spirit. The following countries led in the enrollment: China, 1491 students; Canada, 827; Japan, 658; the Philippines, 649; Russia, 327; Mexico, 232; Porto Rico, 224; India, 218. The following subjects led: liberal arts, 2224 students; engineering, 1382; commerce, 477; medicine, 468; theology, 360; agriculture, 311.

OF GANDHI it is said that he "commands a greater voluntary personal following than any man in the world in this generation" (Sherwood Eddy, *Christian Century*, XXXV: 489). He seems to have achieved this position not because he is a Hindu but because he has become the leader of a "non-violent, non-cooperation" movement among millions of people who feel themselves to be victims of political and social injustice. Although they may be far from ready for democratic self-rule, their feelings have become aroused, even more perhaps, by the knowledge of their leader's imprisonment than by any other single fact.

WORLD PEACE is greatly menaced by the rise of chemical warfare. It is not possible to build dreadnaughts and keep them hidden, but with chemicals the situation is different. The strategy of war consists in part in surprising the "enemy." It is now becoming possible to "disarm" in the traditional sense, and still be manufacturing new and deadly gases (if the chemical resources are available) which coupled with chemical warfare technique, would enable a nation to declare war and wipe out an antagonistic nation in a comparatively few hours. The problem is one for world conferences to consider. It is educational, involving the subordination of hyper-nationalism to a sane international spirit in all lands.



# GANDHI AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL MIND

## *A Fragment and a Suggestion*

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IT WOULD BE interesting to attempt an analysis of the facts of recent Indian history by applying the illuminating method developed by Professor Thomas in the Methodological Note which precedes the first volume of *The Polish Peasant*.<sup>1</sup> His formula, as will be recalled, is that a *new attitude* is to be explained in terms of a *social value*, or values, acting upon a *previous attitude* of the individual. On the other hand, *new social values* emerge through the action of individual *attitudes* upon *pre-existing social values*.

While it lies beyond the scope of this paper to attempt such an analysis, the following fragmentary statement suggests that if one were in possession of adequate biographical, social, and historical information with respect to Indian life a fruitful application of the method referred to could be made to the present situation in India.

Even in the mere sketch given below one sees, on the side of *social values*, the ancient and splendid culture of India side by side with the powerful and more materialistic Anglo-Saxon civilization of the dominant Britisher. Both of these are of course extremely complex, and they contain within themselves many more or less complex component values. Among these one finds such subjects of interest

<sup>1</sup>"*The Polish Peasant in Europe and in America*," by William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki.

as taboos affecting diet, dress, and conduct; elaborate systems of social and racial avoidance and contact, including not only such rigid structures and rituals as the native cults and castes, but also the bureaucratic and militaristic establishments of the dominating intruder; and, over and above all such immaterial creations, there stand of course all the objective, non-human elements of the various conflicting cultures represented in the material works of man. Along with these social values one catches in our hasty picture glimpses of such emotional and sentimental *attitudes* as religious asceticism and non-resistance, reverence and renunciation, dominance and submission, arrogance and servility, racial pride and humiliation, timidity and self-reliance, particularly as affected by military training and experience; or again of mingled detestation and admiration of the white foreigner, passing into exultation, hope, and courage at the knowledge of his defeat in Siberia by a colored Asiatic race; finally of political ambition and longing for self-determination, along with a new appraisal of the native Indian heritage—all this, and more, gives us even through this small window glimpses of a social situation immensely rich in materials for socio-psychological analysis. And for it all Mohandas K. Gandhi, that strange combination of Hindu high-caste man, learned and British-trained barrister, orator and man of public affairs, devotee of religion and philosophy, emaciated ascetic, fearless prophet, long-suffering and non-violent asserter of truth and “soul-force,” and world-famous leader of a profound but bloodless revolution—this extraordinary “symbol of the soul of the East” seems at the present time to give to this swirling situation its most significant single personal expression.

For the extraordinary leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi in South Africa and India is due not merely to the fact that the times were ripe for such leadership, but also to

his profound and sympathetic comprehension of the mind of his fellow-countrymen. He frankly declared in a public address, in 1916, that India is "a country of nonsense," and he proved it by reference to those "untouchable" castes which nonsensical religious distinctions perpetuate there. His very asceticism no doubt appeals to the Hindu mind,—with his frequent fasting; his doctrine that "those who want to have a glimpse of the real religious life must lead a celibate life no matter if married or unmarried;"<sup>2</sup> and his contempt for all worldly comforts and honors.

Not only does Gandhi practice those acts of religion which are so transcendently important in the land that addresses him as *Mahatma*, or *Saint*, but he places the stamp of his profoundest approval upon them in principle. "Swaraj" (self-rule) he declares, "can only be built upon the assumption that most of what is national is on the whole sound."<sup>3</sup> These words were uttered during the course of an address on "Swadeshi," which has been too narrowly understood in the West. The term signifies not merely a movement to restore the ancient hand-spinning and weaving industry by a boycott of British and other foreign goods in favor of homespun, although this is its central plank. It includes much more, and represents a nationalistic re-birth, a true Renaissance of India, as fundamental as the Gaelic movement in Ireland.

One expression of this new nationalism is the demand, to which Gandhi has given frequent and eloquent utterance, for the elevation of some native tongue, preferably Hindi, to the position of a common, national language. Thus we have him saying, in a speech at the opening of the Benares Hindu University, in 1916, "I want to say it is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening under the shadow of this great

<sup>2</sup> "Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi," Madras, 1918, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 357.

college, in this sacred city, to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me."<sup>4</sup> The evil in this situation he has fully explained on various occasions, notably in his Presidential address, in 1917, before the Gujarat Educational Conference. The evil consists essentially, in Gandhi's opinion, in the fact that its use in connection with higher education creates a chasm between the educated class and the masses of their fellow-countrymen. This line of separation runs even through the home and the family circle. "At present," he points out, "we are unable to make our wives co-partners with us. They know little of our activities. Our parents do not know what we learn. . . . We cannot reproduce before the family circle what we have learnt through the English language."<sup>5</sup>

The situation in India at the time of Gandhi's return in 1914 was ripe for the kind of leadership he was peculiarly qualified to offer. Nothing stands out more clearly in his South African experiences, then just completed, than his desire and ability to arouse the latent self-respect of his socially subordinated fellow-countrymen. And we are not limited to his testimony for proof that the present revolution in India is nothing less than the spiritual rebirth of a long submerged nation. Thus Mr. S. E. Stokes, an American long resident in India, speaks, in his book on "National Self-Realization," of his own efforts to organize the natives of a backward district for passive resistance against a tax held to be unjust. He finds a marked moral effect resulting from this common stand maintained under peril, and experience of suffering. "Before we made the effort," he declares, "they were dull, hopeless and cringing; now they are beginning to think that life may be worth living after all, and I find a new energy and the first signs of an awakening manliness in them."<sup>6</sup> Likewise,

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 219, 325 ff.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup>"*National Self-Realization*," by S. E. Stokes, Part II, p. 62. Madras, 1921.

Mrs. Besant, in a "farewell" address just before her internment by the British in 1917, said, "My real crime is that I have awakened the national self-respect, which was asleep, and have made thousands of educated men feel that to be content with being a 'subject race' is a dishonor."<sup>7</sup>

These two writers,—both Anglo-Saxons by nativity but Indians by adoption, both endowed with great ability, and intimately conversant for long years with public affairs in India,—have portrayed in firm lines both the causes and the nature of this new temper on the part of the people. For example, Mrs. Besant, in her Presidential address before the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, in 1917, expounds at great length the causes of what she calls "the new spirit" in India. Among these causes she finds a "loss of belief in the superiority of the white races," produced primarily by Japan's victory over Russia; the World War with its ghastly exhibition of "science turned into deviltry;" and widespread discontent with British financial and industrial rule on the part of the merchants of India. This loss of English prestige was further aggravated, as the same authority shows elsewhere, by the Arms Act, denying even men of position and education the fundamental English right of bearing arms. On this disability she quotes an English journal as admitting that it "carries with it such a sense of humiliation, helplessness and self-contempt, that before it all other blessings dwindle into insignificance." Along with this went such further affronts as the rejection of Indian volunteers from the educated classes, at the same time that the small, but readily mobilized, territorial regular army of India was the very first of all foreign troops to come to the rescue of the British forces in France—a service which had been recognized by both Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>"*Speeches and Writings of Annie Besant*," Third Edition, p. 287. Madras, 1921.

<sup>8</sup>"*Speeches and Writings*," pp. 322, 325, 273, 294, 306, 309.

Mr. Stokes not only corroborates this line of evidence with the additional instance of Indians excluded from settling in East Africa and elsewhere, yet called at the same time to fight for the Empire far and wide. Going further, he analyzes the effect upon the Indian mind of the "whipping" and other evidences of "racial contempt" inflicted by the British upon the Indian people. While even more direful for the peace of India is the fact that the English in India, at least the bureaucracy and its minions, "openly insult Indians by exultingly alluding to the successful administration of 'doses of Dyer-mixture.' " Finally, the Indian people, all "intensely conscious of her present fallen state," were not reassured by the drastic search measures carried out in the Punjab at the close of the War, and the whole tense situation culminated in the atrocity of Amritsar.<sup>9</sup>

Gandhi has frequently declared that passive resistance is a weapon fit only for the "strongest minded," although he prefers to call it *Satyagraha*, which means the assertion of *truth*.<sup>10</sup> At heart it is identical with the Quaker "testimony" and "concern." Its close relation to courage is clearly present in the thought and teaching of Gandhi. So one finds him exhorting his hearers to emancipate themselves from their inner bondage. "I found, throughout my wanderings in India," he testifies, "that India, educated India, is seized with a paralyzing fear." No one, he laments, dares to express his honest opinions in public or private, and yet, "in the *Bhagavad Gita*, fearlessness is declared as the first essential quality of a Brahmin." On another occasion he quotes Lord Willingdon, who had advised a Bombay audience "to cultivate a fearless spirit." And it was doubtless with the same thought that he advocated enlistment in the army, whereby "we learn to defend

<sup>9</sup>Stokes, op. cit., pp. 38-39, 49, 4, 45.

<sup>10</sup>"*Speeches and Writings*," pp. 422, 361, *passim*.

India and to a certain extent regain our lost manhood.”<sup>11</sup>

Gandhi seems indeed to be upon such sure ground when appealing to Indian audiences that he challenges them boldly, but always with consummate tact and persuasiveness, upon matters both sublime and seemingly trivial. Thus he chides the people for their unsanitary habits—rubbish in the streets and temples, careless expectoration, and swarms of flies—assuring them that a demonstration of their ability to handle these local problems will be a long stride toward the *Swaraj* (self-rule) which they so ardently desire.

Some of the grossest superstitions of the Hindu religious and social tradition come in for their share of criticism from this revered leader who embodies so appealingly the aspirations which India consciously cherishes that he can tell her plainly without offense the things that she *ought to want*. Foremost among these is that cruel institution of the “untouchable” castes. In 1915, at the town of Mayavaram, in replying to an “*address*” presented him by its citizens, Mr. Gandhi said: “In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a mass of people whom I would call ‘untouchables.’ If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself.” Yet this bold and radical indictment was greeted with cries of Hear! Hear! On other occasions he refers to it as “an ineffaceable blot,” and a “miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit.”<sup>12</sup> In his own paper, *Young India*, Mr. Gandhi wrote on Sept. 22, 1921, that “there seems to be a lurking thought with many of us, that we can gain Swaraj and keep untouchability.” Again, a week later, he says, “I have told them at all their huge meetings in no uncertain terms, that there can be no Swaraj without the removal of the

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 235, 293, 412.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 207, 293, 353.

curse from our midst." Along with this he is firmly set against "the shackles of child-marriages," and declares that an enlightened people "would shudder even to think" of "imposing the burden of motherhood upon a girl of twelve or fifteen."<sup>13</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi is in fact "a symbol of the soul of the East," and it is probably true largely because he is, as an English writer puts it, "a new type of Indian holy man" who "has thrown himself into the work of social and political reform, instead of holding himself aloof from the practical affairs of life, as was the way of the old ascetics."<sup>14</sup> The writer last quoted, himself a resident of India, and scores of others, attribute his power to his saintly character and self-sacrificing life. In the words of the poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore, it lies in "his dynamic spiritual strength and incessant self-sacrifice."<sup>15</sup> Perhaps nothing could appeal more potently to the Indian national temperament. This is well exemplified in a now widely circulated story of a wealthy Hindu lady, who ventured to wear her jewels to one of Gandhi's meetings, after her husband had warned her to leave them at home. Upon her return without them she confessed, "I offered my precious necklace at the lotus feet of Mahatma Gandhi for the great cause of India's independence."

Rich and poor, high and low, obscure and illustrious—all are represented among the adherents of this astonishing, non-violent revolution. Among them we mention here only one, the distinguished Indian poetess and orator, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Says this eloquent coadjutor: "There are times in the history of nations as of individuals, when the customary law of caution, of order, of reverence for constituted authority must fail before the inspiration and

<sup>13</sup>"*Speeches and Writings*," p. 337.

<sup>14</sup>The United Free Church *Record*, Nov. 1921.

<sup>15</sup>Quoted by B. K. Ray in *New York American*, May 8, 1921.



the impulse and the intuition of the moment's demand." In her opinion the whole of Indian civilization is based upon "renunciation," taught by Buddha as his supreme message, and "found embodied in Mahatma Gandhi." Referring to the Government's oppressive measures to suppress "anarchy" she asks, "But what is anarchy except the gift of Europe to India disrupted by the European Government?" On the other hand, she held that in disobeying the laws of that government the Indian people "are exercising that self-determination of which the Peace Conference has said so much." In pressing home her impassioned appeal in support of the great spiritual movement and its revered leader, Mrs. Naidu appeals to her hearers as "sons and daughters of religion, dedicated to truth;" as "true children of the East, patient in courage, enduring to the end, forgiving to the end, therefore triumphant in the end;" and as "true stewards and guardians of the truth."<sup>16</sup> The frequent cheers which greeted these utterances give proof that the gifted poetess knows the heart of India, and that she speaks with authority when she points to Gandhi as the living embodiment of the national spirit. And just now that national spirit is calling for the casting off of fear and submission.

<sup>16</sup>"*Speeches and Writings of Sarojini Naidu.*" Second Edition. Madras. No date. See pp. 246, 254-55, 256, 258, 270-271.



PATRIOTISM, like liberty, has been the loudly mouthed excuse and justification for unnumbered crimes against nation, society, and civilization. Hamilton and Knight, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 129.

THE IGNORANT and the poor are groping for the light. They know vaguely that there is hope somewhere. If this were not true, democracy would be imperilled. Annie Marion MacLean, *Our Neighbors*, p. 173.

## SOCIAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE VILLAGE

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THE VILLAGE holds possibilities for the future development of our civilization that neither the city nor open country possess. Because the village is the meeting place of these two extremes, it has a chance, which is distinctly unique, to select, conserve, and develop the best from both.

### INSTITUTIONAL POSSIBILITIES

For the best possibilities of the village, with its community, to come to fruition, institutional functions must be changed and enlarged and, in fact, evolve new forms of leadership. The school and the church may take this responsibility, because these institutions are the conservators of old spiritual values and initiators of new. The school possesses infinite potentialities in both the growth of curricula and extra-curricula educational activities. The curriculum has been handed to the village school by the city as a priceless, traditional heirloom, but this is exactly the heritage that the village school must annihilate. Boys and girls of the open country attend the village schools, often constituting fifty per cent of the enrollment in both those places that have consolidated schools and those that have not. The consolidation movement also is tending to concentrate the schools in the villages, if Ohio is typical in this respect.

The prevalence of these conditions offers a singular opportunity for schools to reconstruct their curricula on the needs and demands of the village community. The funda-

mental cornerstone of such a re-building is agriculture; this occupation is the heart of the village life as well as that of the open country. The physics, chemistry, the social sciences, and much of the literature, as well as other subjects, can be made to enrich village and country life, and give a new appreciation to the problems of all concerned, in the courses being arranged about the practical phases of farm life. The establishment of the Smith-Hughes high schools indicates a trend in this direction, but the building of agricultural curricula in proportion to the possibilities awaits tremendous constructive thinking and work.

The possibilities of service that the village school can render are not confined to the work in the courses alone, but extend into the extra-curriculum programs. One field of activity is the nurturing and developing of latent dramatic talent which can be found in any locality, but is usually smothered in a belief of inferiority. The school may do little more than give its auditorium where the home talent play may be presented, but even that much encouragement is helping to educate away from and counteract the influence of many a subtle suggestive moving picture which is often forced on the small "movie" house. Besides this, the school is the logical agent through which the higher educational institutions may reach the common people by means of their extension services. Likewise, library advantages may be furnished the people through the same means; the school offers facilities in this respect that no other agency does. Other chances for development in this respect could be discussed, but space forces us to turn to the second important village institution, the church.

The church holds tremendous possibilities of evolution in its own peculiar functions, and with these very great potentialities of leadership for the whole community. This institution has an extraordinary opportunity of interpreting Christianity in terms of present-day problems and

pointing out the solutions which are most beneficial to humanity. This village church with its merchant, laborer, farmer, and retired farmer congregation possesses a unique function of building new mores that involve personal relationships on the basis of the old rural personal standards. This agency, which has as one of its duties the keeping of old values, is arising in many small centers to its prophetic responsibility. Today ministers who have had college and seminary training and who are wrestling with the problems brought out in the "Report of the Steel Strike of 1919" and other literature relating to this field are located in villages whereas a few years ago men of such qualifications were preaching only in the larger places. The portion of our population living in these places must and will take part in the solution of industrial problems as well as agricultural problems, as they did in the stamping out of the liquor traffic. When these people learn that the twelve-hour day is prevalent in American industry and that labor still crushes the childhood joys out of many children, they will obliterate the evils. The village church thus may help build new spiritual values for the coming generations and give a religion that is concerned with making more wholesome living for all.

#### SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL POSSIBILITIES

The perfecting of the social and recreational opportunities, of which the village possesses many, may come through the leadership of the school and the church. Indeed, this phase of work constitutes a function of both these institutions, either as direct instigators, or motivating forces; indeed, it is the business of both to stimulate the best in this respect. A difference of opinion prevails regarding which of these agencies should assume the responsibility and duty of seeing that the best social and recreational

life is furnished for the village community, but no reason exists for such a disagreement, because the best results may be obtained through the coordination of their work. Each supplements and helps the other and both exist for the sake of the community. It is a fact, however, that where one—and it makes little difference which one—has a good leader in the personality of its superintendent or minister, the directing of the community affairs falls very largely to the institution with the leadership. A very good example of the transfer of leadership from the church to the school is found in the village of Ashley, Ohio. Some years ago the outstanding man of the place was the minister who had a vision of service, for the community, to be rendered by the church. In trying to realize this vision he lost his health and finally his life. From the time of his death no man has been found who could take his place as a clergyman and community leader. Instead of the church now standing in the forefront of social and recreational affairs the school is dominant, which may be partially due to the fact it is now consolidated and the boys and girls from the whole township attend. Through the athletic life and entertainments the school has assumed the direction of the social and recreational affairs to a very great extent. This educational center, which is aided by the Smith-Hughes Act, is striving to fill its place as a real community builder for both the village and surrounding rural territory.

The possibilities for constructive schemes of social and recreational life are many and varied in the village when adequate and efficient guidance is afforded. The ideal expenditure of leisure time consists of wholesome forms of self-expression, and not in psychological long distance recreation that is manifest in watching a moving picture. The most worth-while kind of recreation for any individual is that in which the person himself takes part. The village community is not too large for a program of enter-

tainments and play to be planned for a year or two at a time with adequate provisions for all to take some part. Playgrounds are just as vital for the boys and girls of the village and open country as for the children of the city. Young people are, as a rule, under-supplied with facilities of social and recreational expressions. Because of this lack in the average village, the boys on Sunday afternoons gather for miles around, congregating in the ice cream parlors, restaurants, and drug stores. Also the barber shop and the pool room serve as additional centers on the other days of the week. The chief recreation of these places consists of telling of vulgar stories and the playing of coarse jokes on each other. Besides the viciousness of these methods of amusement, the whole system is commercialized. The trade of the pool hall is drawn usually from a territory larger than that from which the stores secure their customers. These commercialized and deteriorating ways of amusement can be eliminated if only the church or school or leading citizens will assume responsibility for seeing that beneficial methods of spending spare time are established. Playgrounds would be one step in the solution. Yes, even Sunday baseball would be far better than the common method which has just been pointed out. Regular social nights are being used in some places with extra good consequences. Clubs can be organized; clubs that may be educational, economic, or purely for a good time. Boy Scout and Girl Scout programs can be adapted to this little center with boys and girls of both open country and village as members. It is probably useless to point out any further details regarding specific things that can be done, because those are handled adequately in books and articles dealing entirely with those problems, but the village offers unsurpassed opportunities for exercising this field of activity. Social and recreational life can be extricated from the purely commercial and built on virgin soil.

The village and open country boys and girls are looking for and needing methods of self-expression.

All these possibilities can easily be realized if the men of the villages and open country will take advantage of their chances in their own field. Business men's organizations can include the farmers in their programs. This is very successful in those places where it has been tried. The villager is coming to understand the farmer and the farmer the villagers; and as a result of this mutual appreciation a better community spirit has arisen. The men who belong to these organizations as well as to the schools and churches can furnish the plans for the recreational and social activities of the young people.

#### CULTURAL POSSIBILITIES

Culture is a result of leisure time, contacts, and adequate economic stability. In times past it has been the city or the aristocratic system in a rural environment that offered conditions of this kind. That is no longer true, because the village does now possess the fundamentals for such growth. Women's clubs are being formed in these places. Great division of labor can now be found here; occupations are becoming more and more varied in these villages every year. With this, certain cultural developments can be found, such as women devoting their spare time to painting, carrying on study courses through the clubs, and learning how to exercise their power through the use of the ballot. In fact, all these possibilities for culture exist for the village as well as those which have been discussed above because of the particular evolution through which it is now passing.

The village is becoming the farmers' center. Retired farmers are moving into it, and these with those who remain on the farms are buying interests in the varied

businesses and are establishing cooperative organizations with headquarters in the village. Also, decentralization of industry is taking place and manufacturing plants are going to the villages on a small scale. Due to these changes with the accompanying diversity of occupations, more and more trained men and women are being found in the villages. In fact, a few people are returning to the village from the city. Also, the farmers' open country spontaneous and unconscious community organization has broken down through systems of rapid transit. This same system is carrying the farmer into the villages and causing him to mix with the laboring men and business men. Also, concentration is taking place in the churches, schools, hospitals, and other institutionalized activities. With all this development, city meeting country in the village, the village, the last to be noticed by those interested in human advancement, has infinite possibilities to make great contributions to our civilization and become the stabilizing force in our industrial revolution.



TEN SMALL discussion groups in a community will do more to create the new way of life than 100 mass meetings with 1,000 in attendance. E. C. Lindeman, *Proceedings of Conference of Social Work*, 1922, p. 77.

THE DELINQUENT is the one who does not come up to the mark in the performance of those duties which the group has placed upon every member. Goddard, *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*, p. 63.

UNTIL we have a society, however, made up of individuals seeking to gain wealth only through creative labor or through saving, rather than seeking to attain it through chance or privilege or opportunity to drive a bargain, we shall fail to secure an economic life which is just or in harmony with scientific principles. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 228.



# THE CONCEPT OF REPRESSION IN THE ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY

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RECENT advances in the study of human behavior are throwing light on the relation of the family environment, of which the young child is so helpless a part, to the development of a well integrated personality. In his recent study of "Our Social Heritage," Graham Wallas pictures the child as "a strongly outlined sketch, the details of which are filled in after birth by his nurture." The reception of and final reaction to the institutional life into which he is born are a part of the field of investigation of "the new psychology," one division of which includes a psychiatric technique developed to aid in understanding unusual or abnormal behavior. This technique, known as psychoanalysis, has quite definitely established the fact that many of the functional neuroses originate in the experiences of childhood.

Behavioristic psychology is concerned with the whole field of reactions to stimuli, inherited and acquired, including the reactions to the social environment so early conditioned as to be distinguished with great difficulty from instinctive behavior. Dr. John B. Watson has done about the only work in this field which attempts to separate what is inherited from what is acquired. In an important recent article he says:<sup>1</sup> "At present we have not the data for the enumeration of man's original tendencies and it will be impossible to obtain such data until we have followed

<sup>1</sup>Watson, John B. and Rosalie Rayner: "Studies in Infant Psychology." *The Scientific Monthly*, December, 1921. Vol. XIII, No. 6, pp. 493-515.

through the development of the activity of many infants from birth to advanced childhood. Our own view after studying many hundreds of infants is that one can make or break the child so far as its personality is concerned long before the age of five is reached. We believe that by the end of the second year the pattern of the future individual is already laid down. Children of five years of age and over are enormously sophisticated. The home environment and outside companions have so shaped them that the original tendencies cannot be observed."

The process by which habits are normally acquired under the home influences is fairly well understood as a result of the experimentation with the conditioned reflex. The study of this process was the work of the great physiologist Pavlov, who developed an elaborate technique for the conditioning of the salivary reflex. This is a spinal cord reflex of the most elemental sort, the secretion of saliva following the stimulus of food. In the course of the experiment it was found that if some other object or act were presented or performed often enough at the time food was given, an association was formed in the mind of the animal between the original stimulus and the associated stimulus, so that the glandular activity was aroused in either case. If a bell was rung, after a time the flow of saliva could be induced by the bell without the food. The bell, in this case, is a conditional stimulus; the reaction, a conditioned reflex. Watson found that the reflex may be conditioned not alone at the level of the simple physiological reflex, but in the case of emotional reactions. Conditioning in this case would mean that when an emotionally exciting object stimulates the subject simultaneously with one not directly emotionally exciting, the latter may in time arouse the same emotional response as the other. Dr. W. H. Burnham, the American authority who has applied this work to problems of mental hygiene, concludes that by them-

selves these conditioned reflexes are relatively unstable unless reenforced by renewed association with the original stimulus or drive, which draws its energy from elemental cravings.<sup>2</sup> Before they become a permanent part of the mental life, systems of association with other reflexes must have been elaborated. Such substitute formations are especially common because of the pressure exercised by social life, which under favorable conditions may warp native endowment and capacities.

Although researches such as those of Pavlov, Watson, Burnham and others lie in the direct path of psychological progress, light has been thrown on the problems of personality from another and less expected source. In the wake of the brilliant Viennese physician, Sigmund Freud, has come a group of writers and experimenters. As a result of Freud's experiences with a practice made up largely of neurotic women of the middle class, he reached the conclusion that many of their troubles were functional, and caused by a process which he called repression.<sup>3</sup> His remarkable cures were accomplished by the restoration to consciousness of long-buried experiences. On examining the nature of these memories, Freud found that they were invariably unpleasant, things one does not like to experience and prefers to forget. Hence he came to regard repression as a process of expulsion of these ideas from the field of consciousness into a part of the mind he called the unconscious. This process was regarded by Freud and his followers as a defence of the personality against unpleasant ideas. But the next step was much more startling, namely, that these ideas forcibly expelled from consciousness continue their activity. It was believed that the idea expelled from consciousness finally broke away from the web of associations which can be recalled by an effort of the will.

<sup>2</sup>Burnham, William H. *The Significance of the Conditioned Reflex in Mental Hygiene*. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1921. Reprint No. 126.

But instead of being lost and harmless they had penetrated the unconscious part of the mind, where they continued to build associations highly charged with affectivity. The term "unconscious" is seen to apply to experiences which cannot be brought back to memory by any ordinary means, but which are conserved and affect the conscious life without themselves becoming conscious. That there are such mechanisms of the mind may be regarded as established.

The shock of the approach to the study of the normal by way of the admittedly abnormal combined with the effect of Freud's picturesque terminology to obscure the fact that repression, one of the outstanding features of the new doctrine, was under another name included within the scope of orthodox psychology. Repression in its less exciting phases is known as inhibition, whose processes have long been fairly well understood. When this is accepted the Freudian doctrine of forgetting becomes more comprehensible; that is, that we forget what we want to forget. It is to be admitted, however, that before the insistence of the psychoanalysts on the nature of forgetting, many psychologists had treated inhibition as the negative of reinforcement, as a part of the general problem of attention. Of course it must be granted that a special expenditure of psychic or neural energy in one direction entails a draining of energy from other directions, so that attention to one set of objects or ideas involves inattention to others. Many cases of inhibition, inattention, and arrest stop at this point. Further impartial study of the subject will probably disclose that there are two kinds of forgetting, one of them involving no repression and after effects, a decay of memory from lack of retention. The object or idea has fallen out of consciousness because of lack of association or the preoccupation of the mind with other matters at the time the stimulus was given. Retentivity is measurable on a scale of individual differences.

But the process involved in the active expulsion of an idea from consciousness deserved more attention than had been given to it. Here we are undoubtedly dealing with a positive rather than a negative process, something more than a mere falling out of consciousness through meagerness of association. Any one who has struggled with unpleasant memories knows that if there are many associations with daily pursuits, they emerge again and again. It would seem clear even to the lay person that there is a difference between failing to notice A because we are preoccupied with B, and those cases in which we concentrate attention on B because we do not want to pay attention to A. And even though the difference should prove to be one of stress and intensity, still the Freudians may have helped other psychologists to a fuller recognition of the difference in the after-effects. They have already convinced many that there is evidence for the existence in mental affairs of an active force of repression, a phase of inhibition, which strives to exclude from consciousness things painful or at least unpleasant and inconsistent with the concept of the ego. Cases of forgetting as a result of active and willed repression can never be explained by lack of vividness. It seems quite undeniable that a memory which has been so importunate as to lead to the taking of active measures to swamp it cannot be said to have failed to reach a state of intensity sufficient to insure it attention.

The morbid side of Freud's valuable hypothesis has been overemphasized in popular discussion, obscuring the fact that there is a constructive side to the process of repression. Under the proper conditions the process may make for the efficient working of the mind through displacement of the energy which might be wasted on infantile and primitive levels to levels of cultural and artistic activity. This valuable form of repression is called sublimation. A repressed tendency may be abandoned in favor of a form of

behavior which will satisfy in a large measure the original craving; this sublimated activity may be one meeting with social approval. According to the concept of mental development held by psychoanalysts, during childhood tendencies which are more or less irreconcilable with the moral sentiments and traditions of the group are in constant conflict with them. These selfish and primitive desires strive for expression and dispute with the social forces for the available supply of energy. By one form of repression or another the anti-social forces must be routed in order that the child may live at peace with his group. As development proceeds the social self takes on an attitude toward the anti-social forces of disgust or fear. Although the conflict may have been fierce enough to leave its traces in mental health, equilibrium will be obtained between the infantile impulses and the controlling social forces. Rivers' experience with the war neuroses led him to believe that the mechanisms of repression only appeared with a breakdown. More normally, there is a fusion of elements as integration proceeds. Account must be taken, however, of the fact that there is much greater affectivity connected with some inhibitory activities than with others. Repression of the activities of the major instincts, unless expressed on higher levels, may go on building, drawing their vitality from the unconscious life.

In his exploration of the mind of the hysteric, Freud found that the memories recalled with such great effort were always in associative relation with childhood experiences which had been suppressed in deference to the ethical and cultural traditions of the family group. He had therefore even in his pioneer work drawn attention to the importance of the family relation in the development of the individual. This teaching becomes much more explicit in the work of his pupil, C. J. Jung of Zurich, who worked out in elaborate detail the mechanisms of the fam-

ily relation. In spite of the personal disagreements of the two, the reader will note that their work is complementary. Many of Freud's conclusions, dealing as they did with the infantile and the primitive, were exceedingly unpleasant to the lay reader; but one of the most disagreeable features was his insistence on the importance of the infantile sexual tendencies in the development of mental life. To many it seemed that he extended his interpretation of the sexual until there was scant room left for the play of other inherited tendencies. But by still further extending the meaning of his own term, Libido, Jung obscured the specific character of certain tendencies undoubtedly of a sexual character.

The value to the sociologist of the work of Jung lies in his study of the conditionings of the Libido in the family environment. From the correspondence of the universal myths of primitive groups to the complexes of the neurotic, he concluded that the psychological atmosphere of the family, with the emotions aroused and maintained by the habitual relationships, exercise a very considerable influence on later development. On this principle, the mechanisms resulting from habits and attitudes toward the different members of the family are later unconsciously used to determine relationships to one's fellow men in general. In other words, these early conditionings, often on the emotional level and embodied in unconscious attitudes of love and hate, will determine the emotional responses in later life. A tentative deduction would be that an individual's outlook and point of view in dealing with the most important questions of human existence could be expressed in terms of the attitude toward the problems arising within the relatively narrow world of the family circle. Although only the first steps have been taken in this attempt

<sup>3</sup>Freud, Sigmund: *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. New York, 1920. Lecture xix, General Theory of the Neuroses.

to throw light on the importance of the family environment in normal development, it would seem that there might be hope of real guidance from some intensive case studies carried on with this in view. For example, a closer study of the filio-parental relation and the relation of the children in the family to one another might throw some much-needed light on later love experiences. Some studies carried on over a number of years by the writer of this paper indicate that the experience of "falling in love," the *bete noir* of the eugenicist, is the result of the infantile fixations and a process of sudden identification of a new object with another loved since infancy. The frequent recurrence of the reconditioning of the love impulse on the basis of physical and mental similarity constitutes a factor of major importance to the sociologist. The tendency must for good or ill act as a potent factor in preserving the purity of types as well as family, national, and racial characters.

One of the gravest problems confronting the American people today is the failure of home life to provide a training which gives the proper start in life. If early education could be so wise and careful that the child's native impulses were fused into a relatively harmonious functioning, mental health could be maintained in maturity under conditions where a less integrated mind would give way. When infantile tendencies persist in conflict with the requirements of social life, under undue strain some kind of breakdown, physical, mental or moral, is all too apt to occur. The teaching of this paper is that given a wholesome family environment there can be fusion of the selfish and primitive tendencies with the ethics of the larger community. On the other hand, weakness or over-tenderness may encourage in the able individual a tendency to exploit the community for selfish ends; while lack of proper help and guidance may arouse resentment which will later be transferred from the individual arousing it to the world



at large. To those to whom study and experience have disclosed the complexity and far-reaching importance of the problems suggested, teachers, clergymen, physicians and practical sociologists, there can be little doubt that any light thrown by psychology at this juncture will be a welcome application of scientific knowledge to social phenomena.



THERE ARE four major, and deadly international sins that menace our future. The first of these is political injustice; the second is economic exploitation; the third is racial discrimination; the fourth is subservience to material gain. Editorial, *Christian Century*, Jan. 25, 1923, p. 102.

THE FACT that the greatest event in the American university year, the one event which brings all American university graduates into a communion of minds each year, is a football game is worth a serious pondering. An Englishman, quoted in the *Living Age*, Jan. 20, 1923, p. 183.

IF IT be not good for one to live amid vice and crime for amusement, it will be quite as bad for the great lower orders of society to feed *ad libitum* upon what commercial interests prepare for them, and, with so many insinuating devices, invite them to enjoy each afternoon, each night of each day everywhere. Oberholtzer, *The Morals of the Movie*, p. 99.

## THE JUVENILE COURT AS A SOCIAL LABORATORY

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THERE IS the utmost need today of plain speaking about Juvenile Courts. Institutions everywhere are in flux, family, school, church, industry and even political parties are being reorganized. Old safeguards in our community machinery have broken down. Bolts and bars have slipped; with many of our cherished social contrivances it is a mere question as to whether they will be remade, or scrapped. Bitter are the outcries of one group against the other; the school blames the home, the home attacks the school, and both unite in criticising the failure of the church. Each group recognizes too that something is wrong in our social organism. In morals the old is not dead and the new is not strong enough to stand, and youth dances out into the streets, eager and untaught, and impatient of the hubbub of voices trying to remake the social order.

"In the meantime—we must live!" cry the young people. The press and the "movies" and many other organs of social expression say by implication, that greed, or display, or cruelty, or violence, or bloodthirstiness, or blind sex are perfectly usual, normal and desirable ways of living, indulged in by interesting and important people. Other voices place emphasis elsewhere, on industry, art, parenthood, ambition, social service or science, but their voices are not so articulate, and most disastrous of all, there is in these times no vigorous, wholesale denial of false standards. Youth is tremendously confused, and if it practices

virtue it can hardly believe in it. It is an age of extreme tolerance of all kinds of social standards and bitter criticism of existing social institutions. In short no time could be found more suitable than this for defining one's use in the world.

The Juvenile Court should by right of its origin, history and present position have something very definite to say for itself. The Juvenile Court idea has a part to play in the remoulding of the social order which no other social group can, as yet, supply. And this role is to express the parenthood of the state.

Parents under the law may bring up their children with such ideas as they please, schools may strive to provide education for all types of childhood, and indeed re-education for those who need it; the church may preach the gospel, private agencies may seek to guide and direct social policy and may correct abuses and supply relief and remedies to each disaster they are equipped to care for, but finally when the system breaks down for the individual, when parents, or school, or church, or private agency, or all together have somehow not succeeded in saving the child, then the state through the Juvenile Court has reserved its right to throw proper parental care, custody and discipline around its wards.

The Juvenile Court exists for the protection of childhood and for the enforcing of its rights to proper care and training. And the legal machinery for this court, as is now well known through the labors of great juvenile court workers like Judges Waite, Hoffman, Baker, Wilbur, Lindsay, Cabot and Orfa Jean Shontz, is vested in the strong arm of the ancient Anglo-Saxon Chancellor, now evolved into our modern court of chancery. The keynote to the whole procedure is that it is equitable.

The Juvenile Court is of tremendous social significance now when ever-increasing numbers are breaking

through the confused background of old standards and an overwhelming rush of feet march on through prison gates. Once the adult breaks the law we have criminal machinery, criminal procedure, criminal courts to deal with him. The equitable nature of the court is gone: it is frankly penal. The Juvenile Court is the last legal barrier between offending youth and criminal treatment.

Now an equitable court can be a social laboratory, which is indeed the theme of this paper. But before we proceed to describe its work, let us define terms,—social means humanizing, that is to say, existing for the benefit of human groups; laboratory means a place where something is *worked* out,—really done. Only by insisting, from time to time on the definitions afresh, can we get a clear view of our field.

I think we are too callous as to the habitual use of the wrong words in the procedure of the Juvenile Court itself. A boy, whose mother works out and whose father is in prison, steals a bicycle. He is a frail, underfed little urchin of ten. The right words applied to his case would be as follows:—there is a petition filed *in his behalf* (for obviously he is lacking in parental care and discipline), he is detained, he has a hearing, he has committed an offense, he is placed in the custody of the probation officer to somehow be restored to normal feeding, housing, school, church, play and industry, and to be re-educated to right ideas about bicycles.

The wrong words misrepresent this case as follows:—the boy has committed a *crime*, there is a *complaint* filed *against* him, he is arrested and placed on *trial* during which he is the *defendant*. He is *found guilty*, or *convicted* and *sentenced* to an institution, or the *sentence* may be suspended and the *young criminal* placed on probation.

These words are all wrong. They are wrong historically, legally and socially,—historically because the Juvenile

Court is no mere offshoot of a criminal court, but a growth of the powers of guardianship of the chancery court,—legally because the law has described the status of the child who comes before the court, he is not a criminal but a ward with special needs which the state has the power of supplying, since the family and other social groups are unwilling or unable to do so,—socially these shreds of criminalistic terminology are wrong because they engender the wrong attitude. They have a bad effect on the morale of the child and on the morale of the probation officer.

Bad Juvenile Court procedure increases the very delinquency it aims to correct. At the most impressionable age it stamps the child with the feeling of guilt and whether the reaction to this is childish bravado, or a feeling of inferiority it is equally bad for moral health.

In good Juvenile Court procedure the offense should not be the core of the inquiry, but merely an incident as the cough of the patient in the clinic is regarded as incidental to the whole group of symptoms of ill health.

How detrimental is this procedure! For example a young girl on being removed from the detention home has a list of names and addresses of sailor boys. The probation officer discloses these to the judge who says:

"Where did you get these?"

"Why—I—I—copied them from the detention home arithmetic book," says the girl.

"Oh, indeed!" says the judge. "I never found anything so interesting as that in my arithmetic book. We will send you back to the detention home."

The court and the officials laugh heartily while the child flushes. People often wonder at the tough, hardened manner of many young girl delinquents. In this unequal combat of repartee, debasing alike to court and child, is the defiant attitude often built. Sometimes it is not so unequal. The young girl becomes skilled, as when the judge

was giving a moral lecture to a girl and she replied:

"Oh, can the comedy!"

The use of the right procedure, simple, childlike, parental, dignified, human is the first essential in making the Juvenile Court a social laboratory.

The second essential is the use of the scientific method. A laboratory is the place where things are understood,—where causes are studied. We all know as a matter of theory that behavior is caused, that it has certain definite antecedents. We all too unfortunately know courts where the question: "Why did you do this?" is not propounded for the purpose of getting an answer, but is followed immediately by a sermon, a lecture, a bombardment by means of the moral judgment. By all means let us let go of the concept of the moral judgment and seek as patiently as social physicians must, the causes that underlie behavior.

The modern court has the use of the physical and psychological laboratory,—it must now develop itself into a comprehensive organization for getting the social causes as well. The true picture of family life, school experience, recreation, habits, the mental content, the ideas, the love-objects, these last, the things the child loves, are vastly important,—must be presented in detail and synthesized into a diagnosis.

The third and final essential of a court which is a social laboratory, is the ability to work something out for the *benefit* of the child. There should be really constructive treatment. We need social machinery for putting our knowledge into action. In many Juvenile Courts knowledge far outruns practice. We know a great deal about the causes of delinquency,—almost too much—but we have not organized our engineering forces to bridge the chasm between our laboratory reports and the child.

How often the probation officer merely accompanies the case. He is present,—that is about all one can say of him.

He is like a passenger on a raft borne by a swift current. He accompanies the disaster or the success, and he records what takes place.

The court should have something definite to offer the child. He comes before the court because parents, school, church and community have failed him. The court must supply this lack, not that the court should itself run these agencies of rehabilitation, but it must interpret the child to the community and must link him up afresh with these social groups. It is a simple case of supplying a great parental care.

Lack of facilities, lack of time, overwork, pressure of cases and red tape are not nearly so detrimental to efficient work as lack of the right attitude. Personality, an alive, skilled, interested *parental* personality is the prime essential of treatment after the diagnosis. Let every Juvenile Court official remember one elemental basic fact that the court is there to represent the parenthood of the state. To achieve this result and to carry out this idea training is requisite. How much training only those who have submitted themselves to the patient discipline of preparing for social service can know. All knowledge of life and literature and science is hardly enough to meet the obvious needs of the simplest child. It appears so easy to do the right thing in the right way at the right moment. So does the work of jugglers, acrobats and surgeons appear simple. It is acquired by unselfish devotion after long experience. It is the simplicity of a perfectly balanced mind and body and soul.

#### CONCLUSIONS

All great discoveries are simple. The rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and those who suffer from industrial accidents, the training of the blind and deaf, the re-education

of delinquent,—all these are simple, human and obvious. The new method of treating sprains is to bandage the injured member to a normal position and set it instantly to work. So too in the reconstruction of human lives, ignored and maimed in the pressure of modern conditions, the essential thing is to relate them to normal community life as far as their handicapped condition renders that possible.

To socialize a Juvenile Court three things are needful: the use of the right words and the right procedure, the use of the scientific method in obtaining a true picture of the causes of conduct, and the dominant concept of the court as a social laboratory, a place where constructive things get done for youthful offenders and for neglected childhood.



THERE IS just one social equality conceivable, and that is in the right to fair play. Platt, *Psychology of Social Life*, p. 233.

THE RELIGIOUS spirit can be revived only when religion is brought into harmony with mens' unquestioned scientific beliefs and with their social needs—that is, into harmony with science and democracy. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. viii.

A STRIKING paradox in American life is seen in political democracy with its equality of all men—in theory at least—on the one hand, and what may be termed absolute monarchy or despotism in industry on the other. Janes, *American Trade Unionism*, p. 1.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY is beginning to show us that man advances towards completeness not by further aggregations to himself, but by further and further relating of self to other men. Follett, *The New State*, p. 65.



# SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

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THIS STUDY is a phase of an investigation of the social conditions among the inhabitants of Chinatown, Los Angeles. Physical factors as represented in housing conditions have already been reported.<sup>1</sup> This paper will deal with the social attitudes manifested in Chinatown, Los Angeles, regarding the function of women and children, men, tongs, politics, religion, art and music, and loyalty to China. This study, it should be observed, deals with only one group of Chinese and represents their attitudes, but not the attitudes of the more educated Chinese, among whom there are many persons of the highest types of character.

The mother has an honorable position in the household with authority equal to that of her husband. Indeed when their views differ it is more than likely that hers will prevail. As an example I may cite a certain family where the father is an "Empire-helper" and a Buddhist and the mother is a Christian and a Republican. The children are devout Christians and the oldest boy is an enthusiastic member of the Chinese Nationalist Party. Women are free to come and go about the streets, to attend church services and to visit where they please (I know only one woman in China town who is hampered by bound feet) but the lives of the older women are nevertheless narrow and dull. Neighborhood calls and an occasional picnic

<sup>1</sup>See the writer's article in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Nov.-Dec., 1922, pp. 70-75, entitled "Housing Conditions in Chinatown, Los Angeles."

to the graves of their dead appear to be their only relaxations. During the morning they have their household duties but in the afternoon they sit around idly. The younger women, who have attended the public schools and who are therefore in spite of the isolation of Chinatown a semi-product of our civilization, usually find employment, or at least an interesting avocation, such as music.

The children lead hard unchild-like lives. They are well loved and cared for, the girls equally with the boys. Their welfare is earnestly considered and their education is of major importance. They are often badly spoiled and there is a conspicuous lack of the traditional reverence for parental authority, but they are never neglected by their parents. Their great handicap is that they do not know how to play. This presents one of the hardest problems of the public schools in this section, for the Chinese children stand aloof from the social life of the school and are with the greatest difficulty induced to mingle with children of other races for anything but study. Formal dramatics they are glad to take part in, but ordinary play is something that they do not understand, beyond a few games of individual skill, such as marbles and kite-flying by the boys. That this is a matter of training is evidenced by the fact that the few who have begun in the kindergarten and have completed several years beyond mingle naturally with the others. Most of the Chinese children however attend the mission schools for the first few years or come direct from China at the age of twelve or more. The routine of their daily life outside the public school does not allow for play and they must actually be taught what seems instinctive in other children.

Every boy and nearly every little girl attends Chinese school in addition to regular day school. Within half an hour after the completion of the latter the child must report at Chinese school, where he remains until seven or

eight o'clock at night, with only half an hour off for supper. On Saturday he goes from ten till four and sometimes he goes on Sunday for half a day. He continues to attend through the summer, with no vacation period. These schools teach reading and writing and, as the child progresses, the Classics. Last year, for the first time, teachers of these schools were required to take an oath of allegiance to the United States but there is no public supervision over their course or methods. There are at present five of them in Chinatown. One, which has recently opened, is in the nature of an innovation and prides itself on being modern. It recognizes the child's need for recreation and therefore runs only from four-thirty to eight-thirty through the week and from ten to four-thirty on Saturday, and in addition a daily recess is allowed. In each school a monthly fee of four dollars is charged per pupil.

The mission schools, which are largely attended during the day by the younger children, have night classes for adults. These classes, which have been in existence for nearly half a century, have been of great civic value inasmuch as they have taught English to many men.

That the children from Chinatown are not up to standard physically is not surprising. Out of thirty-six examined at the Macy St. School, all but five were below normal in weight. Nearly all are lacking in energy. Mentally however they are above the average of the school. No Chinese child is enrolled either in the development room for feeble-minded nor in the ungraded room for slow students. Records of formal mental tests are not at hand in enough instances to be of interest. The Binet-Simon test is given only to those in the upper grades because of the language difficulties among lower grade pupils in a foreign school, and there are only nine Chinese children above the third grade. Performance tests, such as those of Pintner and Patterson, were discarded from the school

largely because of the results among the Chinese, who were all rated thereby as deficient mentally, while every other evidence showed them to be at least of average intelligence. The consensus of opinion among the teachers is that they are more thorough in their work than the other foreign children and make steadier progress. They are badly retarded, academically, it is true, but this is due to the fact that most of them enter school at an advanced age, unable to speak English. Of the fifty-six children enrolled at the present time, thirty-one were born in China and only three of these have been in the United States as long as three years.

Chinese men have a much wider social life than the women or the children. To begin with, practically every man, certainly every man of any social or industrial standing, belongs to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. This is by far the most important local organization, taking the place in Los Angeles that is occupied in San Francisco by the Six Companies. This was founded before 1880 though there is no record of the exact date. It is supported by the yearly dues of its members. It has no affiliations with the American Chamber of Commerce, which avows complete ignorance of it beyond its name. Ostensibly it is organized to regulate Chinese industries but actually, although it has no legal status it governs the community with an authority so absolute that from its decisions there is no appeal. Asking what would happen to a man who dared to disobey its manifesto, one is told that in such a case no other Chinaman would transact business nor hold speech with the transgressor and that he would find life insupportable in Chinatown under such conditions. Fortunately under recent leadership its influence has been progressive. It has openly fought ancestor worship until today this doctrine is no longer taught to the children. Nevertheless it looks away from America to China; one of its chief func-

tions is to assist old Chinamen to return to their native land.

In addition to his membership in the Chamber, almost every man belongs also to a tong. A tong is a fraternal and political organization, intent upon furthering the interests of its members and imbued with an intense spirit of rivalry towards other tongs. There are only two in this city, the Hop Sing and the Bing Gong, although there are four others in the United States. To belong to a tong is to be ensured protection of life and property, or at least revenge if either is interfered with. A man may belong to more than one tong; I know of one man in San Francisco who belongs to all six and walks the streets openly and in safety during any tong war; but this is far too expensive a proceeding to be common. It is almost as safe to belong to no tong and almost as rare. Each tong is a chapter of a large inter-state organization and all fellow members wherever located are pledged to mutual support. A part of the disfavor with which the Chinese have been viewed in this country has been due to the warfare indulged in between these various tongs. The quarrels are not, as many suppose, riotous and chaotic affairs, but are rigidly governed by an unwritten Chinese code that demands an eye for an eye in case of injury. Personal honor is far dearer to the heart of every Chinaman than it is to the average American but his conception of the privileges and obligations implied thereby is so divergent from our own that no American is qualified to judge ethically in a Chinese affair where personal honor is involved, as is the case in every tong war. It may be our duty to enforce what we consider wiser laws and we are certainly entitled to use every effort to educate towards a different standard of conduct; but we should not condemn where we do not understand.

To determine the real religion of the Chinese is difficult. The missions have been established since before the mem-

ory of the oldest inhabitant. Many of the older Chinese are undoubtedly genuine converts and the native born children are all well grounded in sectarian doctrines, and are regular attendants at Sunday School and church. Some of the adults are frankly Buddhists. But the majority appear to have a thin veneer of Christianity over a substratum of Buddhism; or rather they have been taught to be ashamed of their native religion and to profess Christianity out of policy, as in the case of a young woman to whom I gave English lessons at her home. A large and hideous idol occupied a shrine in the hall and incense burned continually before it. One day I asked her the idol's name. She replied that it was an image of Jesus Christ.

Great credit is due the missions, which though narrow perhaps in their views, and restricted in means and methods, have nevertheless been the one constant and persistent influence towards Americanization, the only elevating phase of American life with which the majority of the Chinese have come in contact.

There were at one time, as we have noted, two Buddhist temples in Los Angeles. There is but one today, the Kong Chow Temple. The religion practiced therein is nominally Buddhism; in reality it is a low form of Taoism, consisting almost wholly of the exorcism of evil spirits. There is an oracle attached which is frequently consulted by the orthodox. During the Nineties this temple possessed a wonderful image in the shape of a dragon. It was half a block in length and when born aloft on the shoulders of coolies, whose legs alone showed beneath its encompassing body; it was an awe inspiring vision. In 1895 it was entered in the city fiesta and won the first prize over all other exhibits. A few years ago it was sold and is no longer in Los Angeles. The temple however still possesses several truly impressive idols.

Ancestor worship, although, as noted above, is not taught

generally to the children, yet it is still practiced by a large number of the adults. Home sacrifices are common. In China Alley, to which few "foreign devils" penetrate, every house has a "red paper" pasted outside with peacock feathers fastened above it and candle holders affixed. The papers are a prayer to ward off evil, the feathers are to ensure good luck, and lighted candles placed in holders will exorcise demons. To the conservatives, white people supposedly bring evil with them. On one occasion, when the teachers were taking the school census and their arrival was anticipated, every home in China Alley had its candles lit in front of the door before their arrival. This custom of protecting the house by feathers, prayer papers, and candles exists on most of the rear streets but on the main thoroughfares, it is never seen.

The Chinese are so advanced in literature, art and music, that even these American Chinese, who are in general representatives of an unlettered class, show considerable evidences of culture. Their appreciation of color is highly developed, as is evidenced by the cheerful aspect of the Chinese streets and more particularly by the native dress. They have been taught to be ashamed of these costumes and will seldom wear them outside of Chinatown. Indeed the boys have generally discarded them, even for house wear, but the women and girls continue to use them in their houses. In texture, color, design, and ornamentation they are always pleasing to the eye and are often exquisitely beautiful. Indeed they are eminently more desirable from every standpoint than the American substitutes except in one particular: they render the wearer liable to ridicule from white people. The homes show little effort at inside ornamentation except that in season there is always a bowl of lilies and every family has at least one large and beautifully colored lantern for feast days. It is rare to find a Chinese child in school who has not marked

talent for drawing and painting, and even the youngest children show admiration for the lovely embroideries which are exhibited during New Year at the Company Houses and in the temple.

There is a growing tendency to do away with as many of the old institutions as possible, Chinese music being included in the ban. Nevertheless, the native instruments are frequently to be heard from the streets and during festivals the Tong and Company Houses have trios and quartettes that play and sing hour after hour. Their music is not harmonious to an Occidental ear and Americans are inclined to laugh at it. But a Chinese musician must study for many years before he is allowed to play in an orchestra and music is with them both a science and an art, as it is with us, though it does not seem to be an affair for everyday use. I have never heard a Chinese woman sing around the house and the children seldom know songs in their own language, unless they have been taught gospel hymns in Chinese.

The loyalty of the Chinese to the United States is a dubious thing. In view of the social injustice that has always been meted out to them, their affection for America is really remarkable. In recent years there has been erected in Canton a replica of the statue of the Goddess of Liberty. It stands upon a pyramid of great stone blocks, one for each of our states, the money for which was contributed by the Chinese of the respective states. They are proud of living here and they have as a race a respect for the flag and what it represents of law and order. Many of the young men fought under it during the late war and the first Chinese branch of the Red Cross was organized here in Chinatown. I have never heard a disloyal utterance from any Chinese nor do I think them disloyal in their thoughts, but their allegiance is to China. The political affairs of China are the burning interest in every Chinese



mind. To spend one's old age in China is the greatest desire of the heart and one of the chief functions of the Chamber of Commerce, already noted, is to send back to China old men who have not saved enough to go without aid. On special occasions the American flag is seen in Chinatown and is invariably treated with respect. But day in and day out the flag of the Chinese Republic flutters above the district. The other day I questioned a young Chinaman who is an ex-pupil of mine as to his conduct in case war broke out between China and the United States. His answer was unhesitating. "I should go back to fight for China." "But," I asked, "are you not an American born citizen?" "Yes," he replied, much embarrassed, "but I should just *have* to go to fight for China. I wouldn't have any choice." Though not all might be frank enough to avow it, this is the common attitude of the young men of Chinatown.

We have no right to condemn a non-loyal attitude on their part. They have accepted perforce the social position which we have thrust upon them but it must not be supposed that it has bred in them any sense of inferiority. The Chinaman is intensely proud of his blood and traditions, supremely aware that his civilization, despised by us, has stood the test of centuries while ours is still in the making. Stung by our contempt, it is natural that he does not consider himself one of us but turns toward his native land. If we are willing that, living among us, the Chinese shall remain alien in spirit; if we are so little their brothers in democracy that we relegate them permanently to an inferior social order; then we cannot in justice resent their lack of fellowship.

The loss is ours as well as theirs. They are a permanent part of our nation but their spiritual affiliations are with the old world. And so long as this is true they will remain a stumbling block in the path of our national development.

## CONSTRUCTIVE GROUP CONTROL

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SINCE EVERY group exercises tremendous influence over its members continually, human beings need to discriminate regarding the type of controls to which they are subject and by which their lives are patterned.<sup>1</sup> Group controls are of two general classes: those which inhibit, and those which inspire; those using fear, and those utilizing hope; those employing force, and those exercising love—in other words, repressive and constructive.<sup>2</sup>

Any reference to repressive control throws light on the nature and need for constructive controls.<sup>3</sup> Historically, human groups have promoted social pressure at the expense of social inspiration. They multiplied the "Thou shalt nots;" they featured repression. The Hebrews emphasized negative rules for moral conduct, and the Puritans established negative controls over recreation. Nearly everywhere society has used and advertised torture, capital punishment, dark and dismal dungeons, the guillotine, and the gallows—as deterrents. Parents have become notorious for overemphasizing "Don't do this," and "Don't do that," while religion has magnified the horrors of burning brimstone as the fate of erring sinners.

<sup>1</sup>In 1901, E. A. Ross called scientific attention to the importance of this general theme in his *Social Control*, but during and since the World War the age-long unscientific understanding of social control again gained momentum.

<sup>2</sup>A comprehensive bibliography on social control is given by Park and Burgess' *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 864-872.

<sup>3</sup>One of the chief merits of psychoanalysis has been its portrayal of the evils of repression and its emphasis on stimulations of the constructive type.

Repressive control is illustrated when a group hurls opprobrious names at individuals who veer away from group standards. Heretic, shyster, quitter, boner, knocker, tom-boy, sissy, fraidy-cat, renegade, traitor, bolshevik—these terms act as negative social pressures. The immigrant often staggers under a heavy burden of negative controls, as shown by disheartening epithets, such as dago, hunkie, sheeny, chink, wop. The look of scorn cast by the débute upon the hard-working daughter of the farm or factory is withering; the haughty “once over” which the millionaire’s chauffeur gives the humble owner of a Ford is ostracising. Silk gloves sneer at “horny hands;” power tramples on weakness.

It was once necessary for groups to give negative pressures precedence over constructive controls. When fang and hoof ruled, groups had to protect their members against enemy groups. It was imperative that they supervise their members with rods of iron. But as social evolution unfolds and social knowledge and vision develop, positive controls may be substituted for negative ones. Habit, however, both personal and social, persists in the maintenance of negative pressures long after the need for them has passed away, in fact, even when they are clearly harmful and destructive. Hence, we find that careful scrutiny of a situation will show how wrong conduct may be produced by the application of a negative control. If a child acts badly, that action proves at least that he possesses energy which is seeking an outlet, and since that energy has been dammed up, it either breaks through the dam or goes over the banks at some weak place, causing harm to the individual himself or to others. When an adult commits a crime that act implies the presence of misdirected energy—energy that might have been expressed wholesomely if constructive stimuli had been functioning. When society shuts up a criminal in a dark, ill-ventilated jail, feeds him

poorly, isolates him, his energy naturally turns into brooding, and automatically produces a sense of injustice and "bolshevistic" reactions. Although negative controls will always be essential their blind and conventional usage creates more evil than good. An underlying law of social control is that *the more nearly social justice is obtained, the less will be the need for negative social pressures.*

Constructive stimulation in itself makes repression unnecessary. Energies when put to constructive ends are not available for harmful activities. Routine but necessary tasks when translated into "projects" full of foci of interest are sought rather than shunned, and discipline is not sacrificed but achieved through rigorous activity even though negative rules are put into the background. Constructive group control may now be defined as *a process of stimulating personal energy in socially wholesome ways.*<sup>4</sup>

Parents become play directors for their children and the need for formal discipline diminishes. Cities establish recreation parks, and playgrounds and delinquency in the given neighborhoods diminishes. Schools provide special activities for obstreperous boys and the truancy rate falls. Manufacturing concerns give employees management responsibilities and opportunities for creativeness in their work, and social unrest subsides. Hence, through constructive controls, a group gains in three ways; first, anti-group activities are reduced; second, the personalities of the members are socialized; and third, group as well as personal morale is strengthened.

Although constructive group control has been exercised by awarding honors, degrees, prizes, these have usually made an appeal to only the few. Society needs to institute procedure on a universal scale for stimulating everyone to achieve his best. Despite the strides made in this

<sup>4</sup>Thus it will be seen that constructive group control is one of the main techniques of socialization.

direction by popular education, the masses are greatly hampered by lack of broad social vision and of creative opportunities. Although groups have developed a "hero" terminology as a means of stimulation, yet it is far less extensive than "traitor" and "heretic" nomenclatures. Although constructive controls rely on *hope* rather than *fear*, yet hope is far less effective than fear in determining behavior, and hence, there is need for the development of techniques as auxiliaries to hope and for making hope more forceful than fear. There is urgent demand, therefore, for all groups to give persistent and wholesale attention to the processes of personal stimulation.

Constructive group control seeks to discover the underlying principles of both personal and social progress, of the development of personality through social interaction, and of social justice. In accordance with these principles it will work out tentative procedures and patterns of behavior. By educational processes it stimulates individuals, even from the youngest to the oldest, to adopt, and to improve upon these social behavior patterns. It will strive to change anti-group impulses into socialized habits,<sup>5</sup> to subordinate standards of individual pecuniary success and power to social welfare behavior, to translate egoistic desires into socialized attitudes.

Constructive group control will subordinate the interests of the specific group to those of the larger whole, of "blocs" to national welfare; of nationalism to world community spirit; of "denominationalism" to human service; of factionalism to community needs. It will never repress honest criticism. It will formulate ideals, group ideals, world community ideals, and make them so attractive that all mankind will be drawn toward them.

The greatest enemy of constructive group control is

<sup>5</sup>See Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), Parts One and Two, for an analysis of the process of changing impulses into habits.

group selfishness. No matter how helpful a social attitude may be engendered within a group, for example, within a national group toward fellow citizens, that group may still hold a selfish, arrogant, and domineering attitude toward other peoples. A high degree of social education had been developed in Germany by 1914, but dominated by hyper-nationalism slogans. Ruthless invasion, however, of Belgium, and wanton debauching of France occurred—in the name of a German determined program of world control. The world, however, will be safe only when a world-group procedure is rationally and sociologically worked out—in which every nation group has a free voice “according to the intelligence and public spirit of its members,” but in which no one group should dominate.<sup>6</sup>

Constructive group control will provide all individuals with full opportunities for creative effort,<sup>7</sup> for forming socialized habits, and for assuming social responsibility. It will stimulate initiative, invention, and leadership. If it cannot turn routine tasks into projects replete with points of interest, it will invent machinery. At any rate it will not allow human energies to be drugged by routine tasks, but will deliberately direct them into activities full of problem-solving activities. It will draw out rather than jam down; stimulate rather than smother. It will make life's opportunities for the average individual so many and so socially helpful that all will feel the thrill of the abundant life of unselfish service, develop fully their inherent social nature, and find their greatest satisfaction in creating wholesome opportunities for human personalities.

<sup>6</sup>See the chapter on “The Principle of Balance,” Ch. LXII, by E. A. Ross in his *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1920).

<sup>7</sup>See Ward's discussion of “Meliorism,” (*Psychic Factors in Civilization*, Ch. XXXIV); and his treatment of “Opportunity,” (*Applied Sociology*, Ch. IX).

## Book Notes

CONSTANTINOPLE TODAY, or THE PATHFINDER SURVEY OF CONSTANTINOPLE: *A Study in Oriental Social Life*. By CLARENCE RICHARD JOHNSON, M. A. The Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xi+418.

This survey is significant not so much on account of the results attained and the methods employed, but because "it represents a forward movement on the part of American philanthropic workers in foreign countries to know better the people among whom they are working." Out of chaos itself this survey has brought forth a mass of organized data on several outstanding problems. The topics treated are: Historical Setting, Civic Administration, Community Organization, Some Phases of Industrial Life, Refugees, Orphanages, Recreation, Widowhood, Adult Delinquency, and The Native Schools. When we are informed that no careful census has ever been taken of Constantinople, it requires no great stretch of the imagination to realize the importance of this study. It was no small undertaking to survey an uncharted city with a population near the million mark. There were many difficulties to contend with such as the great diversity of languages, nationalities, and other conditions. Here East meets West; the camel and the Ford are found side by side. Despite the fact that the citizens have been divided by various conflicting interests, the survey met with a kindly reception and had the active support of the different communities. It soon became evident that the work of the survey was helping to awaken a sense of common needs.

The report would have been more interesting to the social technologist had more information been given relative to the methods employed, and if some general conclusions or interpretations had been included.

W. C. S.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY. By LLEWELLEN MACGARR. Macmillan Company, pp. xiii+239.

This treatise is a handbook of nine chapters on an analysis of rural life, rural surveys, rural educational, economic and social forces. It will be of value to rural teachers, preachers, and other leaders.

ADVENTURES IN SOCIAL WELFARE. By ALEXANDER JOHNSON. Published by the author at Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1923, pp. ix+455.

In his remarkably successful experiences of forty years as a social worker Mr. Johnson's achievements furnish many a splendid object lesson to the beginning worker in the field. As an executive for a State Board of Charities, a superintendent of an institution for the feeble-minded, the secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, a lecturer in training schools for social workers, as a Red Cross Home Service worker, and as a public lecturer on social problems, Mr. Johnson is almost without a peer in the variety of important practical angles from which he has experienced social work as a profession. Through all the forty years he has maintained a youthfulness of spirit, a wholesomeness of attitude, a sense of humor, a willingness to revise his thinking that is truly remarkable. This autobiography which sparkles with wit is shot through and through with common sense and helpful suggestions that are generic and far-reaching in their applications to life. The warm humanism of the author vibrates from every page.

E. S. B.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND POLITICS. By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT and NETTIE R. SHULER. Scribner's Sons, 1923, pp. xii+504.

In clear-cut fashion the authors describe the woman's suffrage movement in the United States step by step from its inception nearly a century ago until its successful culmination in 1920, outlining in detail the defeats and successes as they came. The student of social movements will find this volume full of valuable source materials. Attention is called to the fact that although America's history and her principles gave promise that she would be one of the first countries to give women the vote the movement had to be carried forward decade after decade, although twenty-six other countries were giving the vote to the women while the United States delayed. The authors pile up evidence on evidence showing that this delay was not due to an antagonistic or even uneducated or indifferent public sentiment, but to "the thwarting of public sentiment through the trading and the trickery, the buying and the selling of American politics." Suffrage was fought by "politics" by both great political parties to their shame and disgrace.

E. S. B.



LABOR AND POLITICS. By MOLLIE RAY CARROLL, Goucher College, Hart, Shaffner & Marx Prize Essays in Economics. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, pp. xix+206.

A thoughtful exposition of the activities of the American Federation of Labor as they can be traced in national politics throughout a history of more than forty years. In the author's opinion, the success attained by the Federation has been to a great extent the result of a concept of social psychology which recognized individual differences within the labor group on other than industrial questions. It was therefore the part of wisdom to ask from the state for machinery to aid in the solution of labor problems, rather than to form a party which would have to shape policies on other matters. Contrary to the current impression, it is shown that the Federation has consistently opposed legislation for the control of industrial relations, asking rather for freedom in collective bargaining and trusting to such impartial sources as the engineering report on "Waste in Industry" to free it from the onus of the present situation. Labor's distrust of the judiciary arm of government is another manifestation of the workingman's psychology; he believes that judges never get his point of view. The author concludes that the policy of controlling legislation through the reward of friends and punishment of enemies has been one of wisdom, but suggests that a more constructive program must develop if the Federation is to regain its pre-war prestige and become the force which British trade unionism is today.

I. L. P.

HUMAN NATURE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By CHARLES H. COOLEY. Second Edition. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923, pp. x+460.

In this revised edition of an authoritative work in social psychology, the author has added an introduction on the place of heredity and instinct in human life, a series of study questions for each chapter, and other materials. In the new part Dr. Cooley uses the term "instinctive emotional dispositions." By an instinctive disposition he means in a large sense a tendency "to compare, combine, and organize the activities of the mind." Among the leading instinctive emotions of social import he mentions five: the dispositions to anger, to fear, to maternal love, to male and female sexual love, and to be self-assertive and seek power. The superior value of this book requires no comment here.

**SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** By R. H. GAULT. Henry Holt & Co., 1923, pp. x+336.

The author defines social psychology specifically as treating of "the reactions of members of the human race one to another." In the opening chapter Dr. Gault takes an advanced stand, giving to social psychology a distinct viewpoint and subject matter, but in later chapters he seems to conceive social psychology largely in terms of applied psychology and a psychology of mental ability.

In regard to instincts the author states that their existence is purely hypothetical but points out that there is instinctive behavior in the sense of generalized tendencies. Suggestibility is referred to as that organic condition "in which one or another determining tendency or disposition may express itself with relative freedom." The essence of the socialization process is found in the fact that "we are all responding to similar situations so that in course of time each is able to represent the others." While not a complete analysis of the processes of mental interaction this book makes valuable contributions to the field.

E. S. B.

**AMERICAN PROBLEMS.** By MOREHOUSE and GRAHAM. Ginn & Co., 1923, pp. xii+567+XXX.

In a well-written book of twenty chapters the authors have attempted to unite "the essentials of the more important of the social sciences in one subject," as a text for high school students. After giving a brief historical background, the authors consider economic problems, such as production, trusts, taxation; social problems, such as poverty and crime; and conclude with chapters on citizenship, democracy, and foreign relationships. While one may not agree with the selection of topics that has been made, he may well praise the emphasis on social relationships and the sane treatment of the various themes.

**DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL THEORY.** By JAMES P. LICHTENBERGER. Century Company, 1923, pp. xiii+482.

In fifteen chapters the author covers the ground well from Plato to Ratzenhofer. He centers his analyses around the social and sociological theories; he emphasizes outstanding phases of the work of social theorists rather than details. He selects prominent social theorists rather than giving attention to all; he uses the historical

and descriptive method rather than the critical. A strong phase of the book is the historical setting which is given for the respective social theories. Many short pertinent quotations are given from the specific leaders, while at the close of the chapters appear evaluative statements from representative critics as well as a bibliography and topics for critical study. Two additional chapters would enhance the value of the book, one dealing with the origins of social theory preceding the profound system of Plato's, and another at the close of the book, treating of the larger meanings of the materials presented in the foregoing chapters. Judged by the conditions which Dr. Lichtenberger has noted in the Preface, he has made a splendid contribution to sociological theory.

E S. B.

**WOMEN IN THE FACTORY.** By ADELAIDE MARY ANDERSON.  
E. P. Dutton & Company, 1922, pp. xi+316.

Still another indictment against the factory system operated under the influences of an acquisitive society is brought forth in this interesting account of the Women Inspectorate of Factories and Workshops in Great Britain. The author, Principal Lady Inspector of Factories for twenty-four years, 1897-1921, tells of her struggles to eliminate the hardships and sufferings of women workers in the factories of Great Britain and Ireland. One continually wonders when reading such accounts as these why man so readily agrees to exploit his fellow man to a degree approaching utter degradation. Here is revealed the same struggle to obtain better hours, wages and conditions of work so familiar to students of American industrial conditions. It is reviving, however, to note that the struggle is not a losing one. In the British movement one cannot help but feel that the finely humanitarian and unselfish social spirit of Dame Anderson was in great part responsible for the progress made.

M. J. V.

**THE BURDEN OF UNEMPLOYMENT:** *A Study of Unemployment Relief Measures in Fifteen American Cities.* By PHILIP KLEIN. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1923, pp. 260.

Within recent years there have been four seasons of general business depression: 1893-94, 1907-08, 1914-15, and 1920-22. In spite of the frequency and gravity of these periods, little practical knowledge gained by the social agencies upon whom the burden of relief in their respective communities fell has been published. This volume

is an attempt to analyze the experience of social agencies and special committees working on the problem of relief for the unemployed during 1920-22. It reports a comparative study of fifteen representative urban communities. There were held 249 interviews with individuals and fifteen conferences with social workers while full use was made of the office records of the societies involved. The conclusions reached by the investigation are summarized in twenty recommendations contained in the last chapter of the volume. No attempt is made to discuss the prevention of unemployment; the study is restricted to the problem of relief.

C. E. R.

THE HOBO. By NELS ANDERSON. University of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. xv+302.

In the preface Robert E. Park points out that this book is the first of "a series of studies of the urban community and of city life." The book is especially significant because of the methods that were used. It does not treat the hobo problem in Chicago as a particular and local phenomenon but in its generic and universal aspects. "Hobohemia" in Chicago is considered in relation to the city and its life; and this study succeeds in contributing to our permanent scientific knowledge of "the city as a communal type." The study is made in part on the bases of about sixty life histories of hoboes, and shows how the hobo is in part the product of the social environment which he has created for himself in the larger city. Not the least important phase of this book is the carefully worked out programs, city and national, for solving the problems which create and which are created by hobo life.

E. S. B.

SOCIAL WORK IN HOSPITALS. By IDA M. CANNON, Chief of Social Service of Massachusetts General Hospital. Russell Sage Foundation, Revised Edition, 1923, pp. 237.

Features emphasized in the revised edition are appreciation of the need of organization in hospitals to effect the integration of hospital social work with medical institutions; of the need of developing an attitude that medical social work is a component part of organized medicine. The chapters on "Medical Social Problems" are reorganized and improved. Three hundred new departments of hospital social service have been established since the first publication of this book.

I. G. W.

THE KAREN PEOPLE OF BURMA: *A Study in Anthropology and Ethnology*. By HARRY IGNATIUS MARSHALL, M. A. The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1922, pp. xvi+332.

This monograph, from the pen of a missionary who has spent many years among the Karen, presents an interesting study of a backward group in British Burma. The work bears the earmarks of careful observation and scholarly investigation. "The behavior of the individual," writes Marshall, "must be regarded in the light of the life and customs of the group to which he belongs." This attitude of fairness runs throughout the entire discussion. The author has shown the process of acculturation which has taken place as the Karen have come in contact with the Burmese and as they have come under the influence of Christianity and modern education. Several instances have been brought out which illustrate that the contacts with the advanced group have not always been for the better. This study shows how some of the Karen characteristics, which are practically considered racial traits, have developed out of certain social situations.

W.C.S.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK. By JAMES H. TUFTS. Russell Sage Foundation, 1923, pp. xii+240.

This book is designed for the teacher and supervisor of young people desiring to become social workers rather than for would-be social workers themselves as the title might imply. Dr. Tufts has made a comprehensive study of the field of social work and discusses vital questions concerning it. The central fields of social work he finds in the care of children who are not properly looked after in their own homes, the care of families in need, and in the social interests of communities. Social work as a profession for men is apt to receive increasing attention, especially on the administrative side. The intrinsic appeal of social work according to Dr. Tufts is in the opportunities it offers to discover the trends and needs of human society. Throughout the book the discussion is stimulative and fundamental.

E. S. B.

HUMAN AUSTRALASIA. By CHARLES F. THWING. Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. 270.

President Thwing brings to bear his ripe judgment and keen powers of observations in the thirteen chapters of this work upon the industrial, educational, religious, and literary standards of the people

of Australia and New Zealand. "The final outposts of Anglo-Saxon civilization" is examined with friendly but critical eyes. The book is chiefly descriptive and informational although at times analytical and comparative. Dr. Thwing finds in Australasia much that is materialistic and crude, and yet maintains confidence and faith in these lands with their Nordic peoples; he looks somewhat askance at the socialistic experiments in these islands. He finds his chief hope in the universities and particularly in education.

**THE PROBLEMS OF POPULATION.** By HAROLD COX, editor, Edinburgh Review. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923, pp. ix+244.

Population is examined in the light of human welfare and a rather rigid attitude is taken regarding population increase. "The different races of the world must either agree to restrain their powers of increase, or must prepare to fight one another." In any large population the author finds that "a low birth rate is a necessary condition of racial or social progress." He protests against the reckless production of children and urges that women protect themselves against giving birth to children "who are born only to be buried." The author feels deeply but exercises fine restraint in the expression of his attitudes. While mere limitation of birth rate will not guarantee progress, yet it is doubtless true that people, especially of the poorer classes need to be trained to take a scientific attitude toward all the problems centering about birth rate.

E. S. B.

**THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.** By WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL. Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xii+378.

The author attempts to diagnose the tendencies and problems in the present transition period through which women as members of society are passing. Educate woman in a broad understanding of life, train her in knowledge of the problems of family, and the home beautiful, and then leave her free in working out a career within or outside a home of her own, says the author. Co-education is strongly supported, and the necessity of combining liberal and vocational training for all women is urged. The physical and recreational training of girls and women needs emphasis. The breaking down of the idea of "woman's sphere" is not viewed fearfully. Let women be trained according to their individual needs to fill a large and useful part in all phases of life, concludes Dr. Goodsell, in this thoughtful and dispassionate treatise.

E. S. B.

## Periodical Notes

*The Problem of Divorce.* The problem of divorce can best be met by the strengthening of marriage as an institution, and not by the prohibition of divorce or by laws which discriminate between the sexes. The family lies at the root of all that is best in the State, and its existence should be protected by just, equal, and humane laws. Frances Balfour, *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1923, 386-392.

*Societal Variables.* Changeable factors of natural phenomena are known to science as variables. In the science of sociology, we deal with two variables, those of organism and environment. The working out of these variables may be seen by tracing the development of life from metazoa to human beings. It is the aim of a scientific study of sociology to learn more about these variables and their products. Franklin H. Giddings, *Jour. of Social Forces*, May, 1923, 345-350.

*Some Anti-Militarist Fallacies.* The anti-militarists, who are so vigorous in their attacks upon war, fail to realize that the horrors of war are not comparable to the horrors of peace, and that war is a result of evil conditions in society, rather than a cause. The only way to get rid of war is to eliminate the desire for personal gain which builds up an intolerable social order. G. R. Stirling Taylor, *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1923, 633-641.

*A Sociological Interpretation of the New Ku Klux Movement.* The Ku Klux Klan is the product of certain social phenomena such as the World War, the breakdown of religious authority, the disintegration of the home, etc. It is supported by people who fear anything which resembles an attack upon the established social order, and who, since they do not stop to think the problem through, resort to force to defend their traditions. Guy B. Johnson, *Jour. of Social Forces*, May, 1923, 440-445.

*The Future for Unemployment Insurance.* No general relief of the unemployment problem can be anticipated except through state action or the pressure of trade unions. Although the individual efforts on the part of employers to solve the problem are to be encouraged, they necessarily involve difficulties which make such a solution impossible. It will probably be some time before the unemployment legislation goes beyond the remedial stage to the preventive. Leo Wolman, *American Labor Legislation Review*, March, 1923, 39-45.

*The South Buries its Anglo-Saxons.* The South is losing much that might be contributed to the richness of her life, because of the paternalistic attitude of her mill-owners. A resident worker in a mill village is completely isolated from the rest of the world, and since he is practically owned, and all of his activities directed by the mill owner, he soon loses all initiative and independence. Frank Tannenbaum, *Century*, June, 1923, 205-215.

*Industrial Responsibility for Unemployment.* We must depend upon industry and not the state to care for the unemployment problem. This solution can only be reached through unselfish cooperation between the employer and the employee for the benefit of all concerned. It seems that the trade union is the agency which can handle the mechanical side of the work most efficiently. D. C. McLagan, *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1923, 816-827.

*The Miasma of Divorce.* There is agitation in England today regarding the question as to whether or not newspapers should be allowed to publish details of divorce cases. It is the judgment of many that such publicity increases divorce. A government act is necessary, for unless all papers were forced to exclude such reports, those doing so would suffer heavy loss. Willoughby Dewar, *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1923, 642-651.

*What Is the Case Worker Really Doing?* There is danger that the case worker may, in his absorption in the petty and individual needs of his subject, lose sight of the actual aim toward which he should be working, which is the larger relationships which influence the individual, and in which he must be taught to live effectively. Ada E. Sheffield, *Jour. of Social Forces*, May, 1923, 362-366.

*Communities, Associate and Federate.* A community does not necessarily involve face-to-face contacts. There are large national communities of activity which are quite impersonal and mechanical. It is the task of the present order to combine the fellowship of the smaller group with the efficiency of the larger, and to prepare the rising generation to function effectively in the larger communities. David Snedden, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, May, 1923, 681-693.

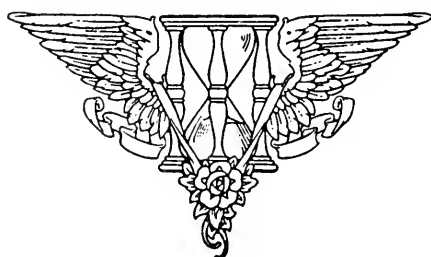
*The Study of the Delinquent as a Person.* The basic fact to an understanding and control of the behavior of the criminal seems to be that the law-breaker is a person, that is, an individual who stands in certain relations to other people, and who is greatly influenced by his life in the group. E. W. Burgess, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, May, 1923, 657-680.



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